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Non-Formal Education in a World Context

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CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN A WORLD CONTEXT

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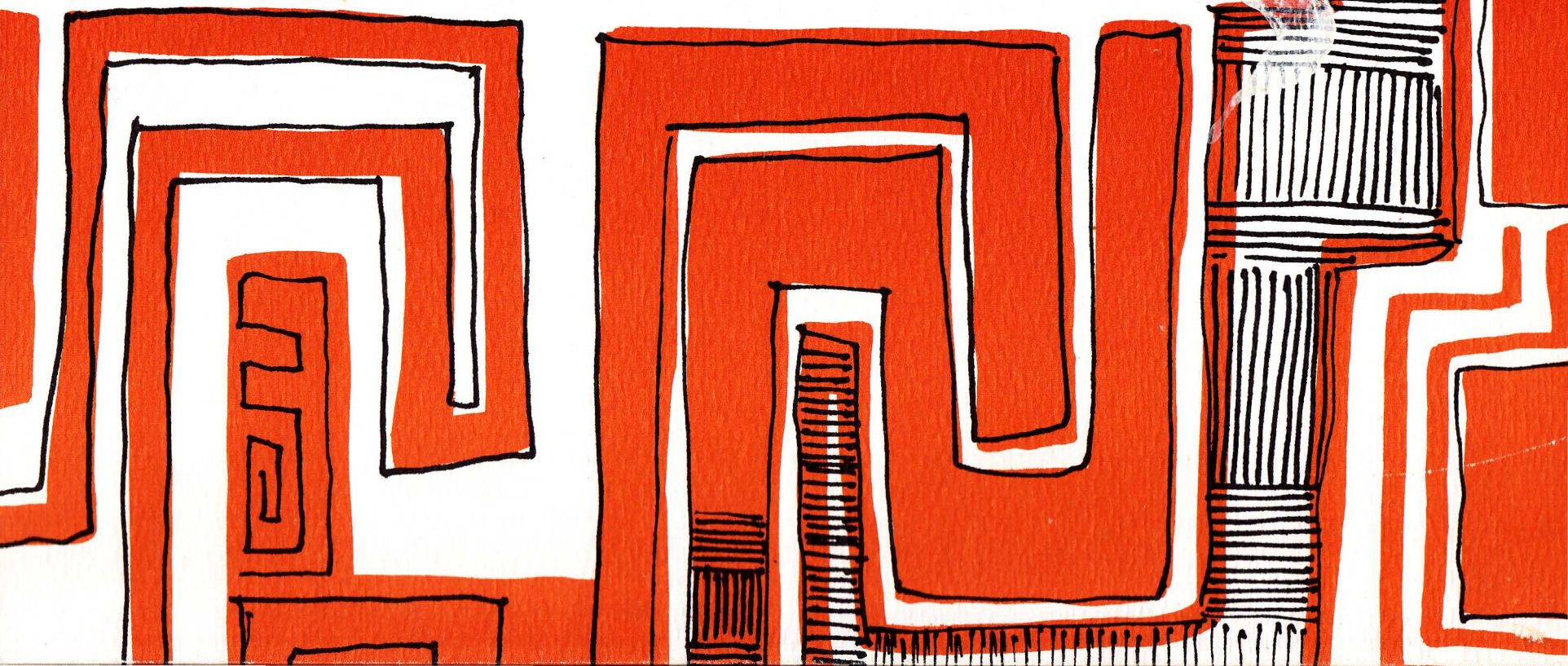

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

IN A

WORLD CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

During the past decade the role of non-formal education throughout the world has become an important topic. Educators realize that the formal system cannot solve the diversified and complex problems which face a society today. As a consequence a closer look is now being taken at educational activities outside the established system - especially those non-formal processes which have a relationship to socio-economic development.

While many societies have a long tradition of non-formal education, little attempt has been made to utilize this base to provide individuals with a flexible and diversified range of useful learning opportunities. Recently, however, the innate potential of non-formal education is being realized. Today education is being viewed as a life-long process rather than the specified knowledge transmitted in a formal school system.

As interest in the field of non-formal education developed, attempts have been made to collect and exchange useful information. Toward this end, the Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, hosted a World Education Conference and invited educators to share ideas on non-formal education.

This booklet contains the papers delivered at that Conference. Some papers are exploratory, and some definitive, some are brief overviews, and others are detailed accounts; however, all the papers make a worthwhile contribution to the field. The papers have been organized according to geographical areas.

The Center for International Education has a sustaining interest in non-formal approaches to education. It is hoped that this booklet might interest others in the field.

George E. Urch
Amherst, Massachusetts
June, 1973

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NON-FORMAL EDUCATION: THE LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

> For hundreds of millions of illiterate people in the world school can no longer be of help. Moreover, in the developing countries nearly half of the children of primary school age today are condemned, no matter what happens, to grow up without ever having attended a class.[1]

This statement from the Faure Report, recently published by UNESCO, lends support to the rising demands for a radical restructuring of educational systems around the world. Educational planners and national-level decision-makers have increasingly found themselves rushing backwards through a tunnel bounded on one side by increasing demands for educational opportunities and on the other by a myopic dedication to the principles of schooling as the only practical means of satisfying those demands. But there is now a light at the end of the tunnel. Social critics like Ivan Illich and educational planners like Philip Coombs have suggested that the answer does not lie with the quantitative expansion of the schooling system but rather with a concerted search for alternatives to the model.

As yet, the light is too bright for most of us, the images of the future remain blurred by the great distances we have yet to travel. But at least now we are no longer racing towards the future facing backwards. Some have called the light at the end of the tunnel non-formal education, others prefer out-of-school education, still others are seeking more precise labels. The reality remains, however, that there is now a target to which we can relate our activities.

This paper grows out of two years of discussions and work with a variety of people at the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts. The authors have drawn particularly on the work of James Hoxeng, Arthur Gillette, and Roshan Billimoria. To them and others the authors wish to express their indebtedness.

THE PROBLEM: TOO MUCH FOR TOO FEW - TOO LITTLE FOR TOO MANY

It is unfair to suggest that no progress was made during the last twenty years in improving and extending schooling to millions of individuals around the world. During the period from 1950 to 1965 school enrollments in developing countries almost tripled. For the first time millions of rural children who had never seen a school entered classes. In Africa, Asia and Latin America highly trained doctors, lawyers, engineers, and social scientists graduated from local and foreign universities, many to return and become part of the growing cadre of trained specialists. Educational expenditures have risen 13-20% in developing countries. The average share of national budgets being allocated to education is approximately 16%.

But even if we look at only the quantitative impact of this effort schooling has failed to meet the demands for providing a minimal education to the majority of people in developing countries. In Africa only 40% of primary school-age children attend schools; in Asia and Latin America the figures come closer to 50-60%. And these attendance figures do not reflect the high rates of repetition and desertion which characterize most developing nations. In many of these countries perhaps 30 children out of 100 who enter school will finish the 6th grade. Secondary schools are available to only some of those who graduate, and universities remain a haven for the wealthy or the influential.

Criticism of schooling runs deeper than simply its quantitative failure to meet educational demands. Many critics have pointed to the irrelevant curriculum which offers European history, geography, and politics to the children of rural farmers. Teaching methods are often demeaning to students and limited in the range of learning styles which they can support. Teachers are poorly trained and often rely on discipline as a substitute for communication. Because schooling has been made legally obligatory, Ivan Illich has pointed out that

it not only produces a sense of inferiority in drop-outs, but makes them criminals as well. Finally, the certificates which accompany success in the schooling system have become tickets to advancement in the larger social system, and barriers to upward mobility for those who do not possess them.

In the long-run perhaps the most damaging argument is provided by the economists. The model for school was developed in industrial countries. Expenditures in 1968 for education in those countries amounted to 120 billion dollars while in developing countries only 12 billion was available with approximately the same number of students to be educated. It seems most unlikely that developing countries will be able to match the expenditure levels of industrial countries in the foreseeable future. Reliance on educational technology may prove a partial solution, yet currently the effect of many technological innovations such as television has been to add millions to already over-extended educational budgets.

THE RANGE OF APPROACHES: REFORM TO REVOLUTION*

An unscientific assessment of the range of educational critics yields five rough categories:

The "Better Teachers, Better Conditions" group;
"Simultaneous Alternatives" proposals;
Restructuring proposals;
Replacement proposals;
and the Nihilists.

Group one includes Holt, Kozol, Dennison, Kohl, the Silberman report, Hentoff and numerous others. I shall take James Herndon's

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* This section is based on a scheme originally presented in a paper by James Hoxeng.

new book, How to Survive in Your Native Land as exemplary of this group's general position.

Herndon's basic position is that school destroys pupils' hearts and minds. In its function as society's great screening mechanism, school makes it perfectly clear to students that failure there means failure from then on - and then locks children into its bureaucracy where they compete and are judged. Pupils react by psyching out the system and its wardens and playing along to gain maximum return for minimum effort.

The second group advocates simultaneous alternatives. This position received strong support from the recent White House Conference on Children. The theory is that these alternatives (no exact ones need be specified, because the nature of the position is to encourage free experimentation within the system) would be tried on a small scale by their advocates, with the blessing of the educational system. The effect would be to recognize and institutionalize the present educational crisis. By encouraging rather than discouraging freedom to express theories and to experiment, the hope would be to hasten the coming of a new day in American education. Presumably the rationale is that the demonstration effect of the various experiments would convince educators and the public of the worthiness of new ways. Failures would be accepted as a necessary cost, since the basic idea is experimentation.

The "Restructuralists'" recent leading spokesmen have been commissions or study groups appointed for the purpose of examining the schooling system. Brief mention will be made of three of these: the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the Assembly on University Goals and Governance of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and an Education Task Force formed in 1969 by then HEW Secretary, Robert Finch. Each of these groups published a report in 1971.

The prestigious Carnegie Report recommended widespread reform in

the degree structure of U.S. universities and colleges. The American Academy report, although somewhat less sweeping, agrees with the Carnegie Report in many respects. The report of the Finch Task Force, which was warmly received by top Nixon administration officials, called for an "intensive national effort" to develop alternatives to the traditional institutions of higher education. Their recommendations were more general than those of the other reports, but stressed creation of new forms of off-campus education, and more freedom to break one's education between high school and college. They also disparaged curriculum change as a means of making education more relevant, stating that neither faculty nor students have enough experience outside the system to know what is relevant. These reports represent a radical middle stance, threatening to a great many liberals, and yet utterly unsatisfying to the groups we now turn to.

The fourth group has a basic quarrel with schooling. Ivan Illich eloquently traces the parallels between schooling's monopoly on knowledge and the way in which the Christian Church gained a monopoly on the rights to, and the process of salvation. These critics are unsatisfied with changes which seek to make schools better, since for them, the very existence of a monopolistic institution which controls education is abhorrent. In questioning the assumptions on which schooling is based, i.e., that schools are the only possible mechanism for universal education, this group is led naturally into a search for other means by which universal education might come about.

Finally, the nihilists. This stance is exemplified by a statement of Edgar Z. Friedenberg in answer to a question about what would replace schools:

> Don't preserve schools just because you fear their disappearance and the space vacated. Let the land lie fallow for a while until people begin to work out spontaneously what they want to do.[2]

The underlying rationale for this position, of course, is that schools are worse than nothing. It attests also to a faith in human abilities,

in that "people (will) begin to work out spontaneously what they want to do." And it would save a great deal of money, in the short run at least.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION: WHAT IS IT? OR IS IT MANY THINGS?

The non-formal education movement grows out of a number of trends, two of which have been discussed: the realization that solutions offered by formal education in its traditional form are increasingly inadequate, and the various schools of thought advocating change or replacement of the formal system. A third thrust comes from the educational planners and development economists who seek to describe non-formal education, to understand its educational and economic characteristics, and to systematically construct large scale, centralized plans for its implementation. From this latter group has come the efforts to define and characterize non-formal education, and it is to them that we now turn.

Most of the writing currently available describes or defines non-formal education largely in terms of <u>what it is not</u>. Typically these definitions involve the distinction between schools as formal education, and most other educational activities, to which the label non-formal education is applied. Some authors also include criteria like the presence of a systematic or structured learning process as a necessary part of the definition. One of the clearest of these definitions is provided by Philip Coombs in the introduction to a series of case studies on non-formal education projects.

> Non-formal education refers to all organized, systematic educational activities carried on outside the formal educational system, designed to serve specific learning needs of particular subgroups in the population, either as a supplement or follow-up to formal schooling, or in some instances as an alternative or substitute.[3]

In this case the definition also suggests that a focussed learning

goal for a specified population is necessary, but the major defining characteristic remains the distinction from formal schooling.

As more experience has been gained with non-formal education, the realization has grown that greater articulation of the specific characteristics associated with the term is necessary. The first step has been a variety of categorization schemes based on different aspects of non-formal educational projects such as their goals, their content, or their clientele. Two major efforts at collecting case studies and setting up categorization schemes have recently taken place.*

The first, undertaken by the African-American Institute has resulted in a book which covers more than eighty different projects in tropical Africa.[4] These projects are analyzed in varying degrees of detail and are then categorized loosely according to the content of the training offered: industrial and vocational, agricultural and community development, programs aimed at out-of-school rural youth, and programs for rural adults. A fifth residual category is included for multi-purpose programs that don't seem to fit into the first four categories. The categories are not intended by the authors to be an analytic framework, but rather are a means to organize the presentation of a diverse body of material. As a result, the categories are a mixture of program content, age of target population, and location of project - urban or rural. However, the book is useful because it provides a clear look at a variety of programs which might be labelled non-formal education, while revealing the wide diversity of goals, techniques, organizations, and settings of these projects.

A second set of case studies was completed late in 1972 by the International Council for Educational Development under a contract

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* A number of other schemes have been developed. Arthur Gillette is responsible for several of them. One of his simply divides programs according to their relationship to formal schooling: Complementary, Supplementary, Replaces Schooling, and Merges with schooling.

with the World Bank.[5] This set of studies is focussed specifically on projects whose goal is the development of the rural areas of poor countries. The studies are drawn from Africa, Asia, and Latin America and include projects that have existed for some time under labels such as community development (the Comilla project in Bangladesh for instance) and adult education. In the preliminary version of the final report, the studies are grouped according to the following categories: 1) the Agricultural extension approach, 2) the training approach - broken down into agricultural and non-agricultural, 3) the self-help community development approach, and 4) the integrated regional development approach. Projects are put in these categories according to what is seen to be their primary assumption about development and training.

The case studies focus on the organization, staffing, and general activities of each project. There is little attempt to relate the cases to an overall concept of non-formal education, beyond the assertion that they are systematic non-school learning systems. The case studies go further than those in the African-American Institute study because they make explicit attempts to relate the learning project to the overall development needs of the region. The final report places heavy emphasis on analysis of the projects in the context of the setting in which they occur, stressing the need for coordinated approaches to development rather than a focus on education as the primary input for development.

As one reads increasing numbers of case studies, and the fairly sparse literature on non-formal education, the nagging question persists as to what non-formal education is. One has the unsettling feeling that the term means something different to each person working in the area. What definitions there are tend to be vague and global - anything not actually labelled "school" seems to be a candidate for inclusion. One is reminded of the fable about the seven blind men describing the elephant - each man taking the aspects of the part of

the elephant which he is touching as the defining characteristic of the class of animals labelled elephant. The confusion is so extensive, that one is lead to question the functional usefulness of the term. Is it in fact more misleading than illuminating? Quite possibly, the term will fall into disuse as the field passes beyond the initial phase - which might be characterized as the anti-school period. As the conceptual framework for non-formal education develops, it is likely that a more precise series of terms will emerge which are functionally effective in describing particular types of non-formal education. Thus, rather than continuing the search for a better definition, the authors suggest that efforts be devoted to clarifying useful distinctions between classes of non-formal education projects.

If we look at non-formal education not as an entity to define, but rather as a large collection of alternatives, we will embark on a much more profitable path. There still remains the task of understanding and somehow communicating about the various alternatives which exist. To do this, a closer look is necessary at the various components or dimensions which characterize all education projects, formal or non-formal. A good beginning in specifying these dimensions is already present in the formats used for the case studies. Taking the headings such as goals, methodologies, clientele, and staffing one can construct a series of dimensions along which individual programs can be coded according to their characteristics. The result would be a distinctive profile for any project, which would clearly indicate its precise character. Discussions as to whether a given program was truly non-formal or not, could then proceed with a commonly understood set of descriptive information.

Such a scheme could then be used for several purposes: to classify and categorize existing projects, to make evaluative judgements about the design of a particular program for use in a specific setting, and as a resource for the design of new non-formal education programs. The authors believe that the major thrust should be aimed

at the latter two goals, rather than at extensive discussions about various taxonomic schemes.

In setting out a series of possible dimensions below, the authors want to avoid a problem which has crept insidiously into many discussions about non-formal education. Many advocates of non-formal education were first introduced to these ideas by the writings of the popular critics or reformers of education. Strong emotional identification with these writers often leads to an implicit value judgement that tends to equate good with the label non-formal and bad with anything resembling formal schooling. Similarly, advocates of schooling feel uncomfortable with projects whose characteristics do not include the major aspects of formal schooling, e.g. professional staff. For both groups trying to define formal and non-formal ends of a continuum is as much a process of verbalizing a value position as it is of trying to create end points for various dimensions. We wish to caution our readers against this tendency.

As already indicated few authors have done much to differentiate the aspects of non-formal education which they feel distinguish between projects. One who has is Rolland Paulston, who in the introduction to a recently published annotated bibliography on non-formal education[6] outlines a series of dimensions, each of which is divided into two opposite categories: formal and non-formal. For each dimension he specifies some of the characteristics which he feels are associated with formal education and those associated with non-formal education. Thus for instance, the two categories of the dimension labelled controls are described as follows:

Non-Formal, Nonschool Programs	Formal School Programs
Uncoordinated, fragmented, diffuse; voluntary organizations predominate; greater degree of local control; decisions often made at program level	Coordinated control, national, regional, or religious bureaucracies predominate; centrifugal tendency; elites influential in higher control positions

Similarly he dichotomizes the other ten dimensions and provides descriptive phrases for each.

Such a scheme seems appealing at first. Formal education at one end of a continuum and non-formal at the other, with programs located varying distances from the endpoints. Yet further analysis raises serious questions. As already indicated, non-formal education is not a clearly defined single entity the way formal schooling is. One can quite easily identify the basic characteristics of the standard model of schooling. For non-formal education however, there is no single model with easily identifiable characteristics. In reality there is a wide variety of alternatives lumped together under a broad heading. As a result the initial appeal of a simple dichotomy gives way to confusion and lack of clarity when one attempts to apply the scheme to specific projects.

After attempting to use a similar scheme to code a number of projects the authors were led to a modification of the concept of dimensions. Instead of considering each dimension to be a continuum, imagine that a dimension is really an aspect which contains a cluster of alternatives piled in a heap. Thus, for the dimension of controls discussed above, there are in reality five to ten different patterns of control which could be specified. There is no simple criterion which would allow their arrangement in an ordered sequence moving from formal to non-formal. The selection of particular patterns of control as endpoints would require a clear model and a clear rationale as to why that rather than some other pattern was used to define the endpoints.

While we can feel fairly comfortable about using formal schooling in its standard format as one anchor point, the selection of a second model as the opposite endpoint is problematic. Perhaps it would be better to view alternate models as falling at points on circles of varying diameter with formal education as the common

center point. Or perhaps three or more dimensions would be required to represent schematically the relationships between formal education and the various alternatives.

One solution to this quandry would be to identify a specific model to be used as the opposite to formal education - defined perhaps as the absence of all the major characteristics of formal education. Such an opposite might be provided by something called incidental learning. An example of this type of learning would be a person experiencing a new environment for the first time: a rural person walking through the streets of a major city for the first time in his life, or a New Yorker living with a nomadic, hunting people in sub-saharan Africa. Incidental learning reflects many direct opposites to the schooling model. There are no particular learning goals, no guide or trained teacher, no curriculum, no external structure providing beginning or end points, and of course no schedule, facilities, or equipment. For those who feel comfortable with such a model, the dimension could now be envisioned as having two distinct points, formal education and incidental learning. These two points can even be considered endpoints with the remaining alternatives clustered somehow in between.

Rather than speculate further on the structure of models, we would prefer to proceed to the dimensions and then on to a discussion of how they might be used to create new models to solve learning problems in a variety of settings. The following paragraphs identify one possible set of dimensions and briefly attempt to give some idea of the variety of alternatives which are included in them. The set of dimensions is intended to be suggestive, and clearly will require further work to decide which of the many possible dimensions will be most useful.*

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* The section on categorization schemes and the discussion of dimensions draws upon research done by Roshan Billimoria.

1. Goals/Objectives: skill training, civic education, inculcation of moral values, raising awareness of culture and society, self-concept, efficacy, entertainment/recreation, academic knowledge, regional development, agricultural production, employment, personal growth.

2. Learning Methodology: information transfer, discussion, experience-based, discovery, self-paced, externally-paced, sequenced, learner ordered, verbal, non-verbal, written, oral, individualized.

3. Staffing Characteristics: professionally certified, amount of training, use of peers, use of paraprofessionals, staff perceptions of learners, perceptions of own role, use of environment or non-human substitutes for staff.

4. Learner Characteristics: homogeneous or heterogeneous by age, sex, ethnic background, social status; prerequisites for participation, presence or absence of rules to maintain relationship with project; hierarchical or egalitarian relationship between learners.

5. Facilities/Schedule: fixed, specialized buildings, available buildings, no buildings; fixed schedule, no schedule, evolution of time use, exclusive or shared use of facilities and schedule.

6. Association with Other Organizations: relationship to formal schooling, independent or related to other organizations, dependent on church, local government, military; local or national focus; degree of freedom to act.

7. Governance/Control: degree of internal autonomy in relation to outside institutions/individuals; degree of staff or participant control over goals, program, methods, sequence, evaluation; locus of ultimate control of program, who has veto power.

8. Financing: self-financing, state, local, international body,

private donor; degree and type of restraints; type of financing ultimately hoped for.

9. Rewards: internal program generated, external certificates; immediate practical payoffs, employment; long-term diffuse rewards of status or access to other learning; personal growth, recreation.

Using these dimensions, or a similar set, any project can be described according to the alternative which it represents on each dimension. If each of the case studies referred to earlier were coded on these dimensions, one would find nearly every possible combination of alternatives, despite the fact that the cases were all considered examples of non-formal education. As already indicated, the categorization schemes used by the compilers of the case studies amount to selecting one or two of the above dimensions and using them as the basis for classification while largely ignoring wide variations along the other dimensions.

Likewise people's intuitive feelings as to what is important in a non-formal educational project result from different valuations placed on the different dimensions. For some non-formal education must involve substantial learner control over the content and method. For others the key factor is the independence from any type of formal schooling. And for still others, the distinguishing characteristic is the non-directive style of the teachers or their lack of formal credentials. Encouraging people to describe non-formal educational projects in terms of their characteristics on the full runge of dimensions will greatly enhance understanding of similarities and differences between approaches to non-school educational problems.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION: THE NEXT STEPS

Using the dimensional approach, with further effort and research, a fairly defensible taxonomic scheme can probably be drawn up. But valuable as this will be, the authors' major interest lies not in categorizing the past, in terms of existing educational approaches, but in using the insights created by the movement away from formal schooling to generate new and more effective approaches to educational and developmental problems. Such a future orientation has two types of uses; the creation of totally new models, and the improvement of existing ones by the substitution of different alternatives along selected dimensions. In either case the emphasis is on creative solutions to problems in particular settings.

The major benefit of setting out the dimensions and specifying the range of alternatives on each is probably the resultant conscious awareness of new possibilities. We all suffer from something which the psychologists call functional fixedness - the habit of assuming, without awareness or thought, a set of limitations when solving a problem. When confronted with a problem most humans proceed to look around within a self-imposed box for the solution. We never consider looking outside that box because we are completely unaware that it exists. Thus educators faced with a situation which seems to call for a non-formal educational strategy immediately begin thinking in terms of designing a curriculum, training staff (teachers), putting up a building to house the training, and creating a testing mechanism complete with certificates to mark the completion of training. Yet all of these things represent the sides of a box which needn't be there.

The conscious use of a planning strategy which involves systematic exploration of a wide range of alternatives for each of the major dimensions would force us to confront the assumptions which now characterize almost every activity we associate with the words training or education. We are not advocating that all aspects of formal education

must be avoided if some type of valued result is to be obtained. But we are arguing that planners should develop a basis for choosing consciously from the full range of alternatives rather than unthinkingly choosing the most familiar one. The goal is effective, economic, and interesting approaches to the solution of educational problems.

What then are needed are directions for future research and development in the area of non-formal education. After a refinement of the dimensions and a fairly comprehensive cataloging of the alternatives possible for each dimension, the major priority would seem to be the development of a basis for making a choice between alternatives in a given setting. For instance, when designing a rural literacy program, how should a decision be made about the amount of control which the learners have over the sequencing of material. Or, on what basis should a decision be made to use only trained professional staff rather than paraprofessional. Likewise, when evaluating existing projects, on what basis does one criticize the use of pre-set curriculum rather than learner-structured and sequenced activities?

General rules for making these decisions are probably not in the near future, but the development of guidelines, or even summarizing the experience from past projects would be of considerable help. Understanding the relationships between outcomes and various patterns of inputs then becomes the goal of research. At that point the issue is no longer the definition of non-formal education or even classifying projects according to some taxonomy. The issue is one of optimal design in specific settings.

The term non-formal education will probably have a fairly short life. Its usefulness derived from the early stages of the movement when emphasis was placed on the differences between the new approach and formal schooling. Once the legitimacy and desirability of the alternative approaches is established, the term non-formal becomes more of a liability than an asset because of the confusion which it

causes. In the future a new series of terms will be generated to describe different clusters of alternatives to formal education. These terms may be derived from commonly occurring patterns of characteristics. Thus programs which use traditional didactic methods but serve adults in non-school settings may be given one label, while cross-age, community based and controlled learning programs may have a completely different term. The value of developing such terms lies primarily in clarity of communication which they permit between researchers, practitioners, and planners. The major efforts, in our opinion, should remain focussed on developing an understanding of how to make a choice between specific alternatives in a given setting.

In developing ways of making those decisions we will begin to bridge the gap between the developmentalists and the radical reformers who want to build completely new models. The optimal path will likely lie between these two approaches. The future will hold greater diversity, greater flexibility, and a growing understanding that answers rarely transfer intact across problems. The issue of formal or non-formal will gradually fade away.

Paper presented as the opening address at World Education Conference
University of Massachusetts
December 2, 1972

FOOTNOTES

1. Faure, Edgar (chmn.) et.al., Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow. Paris: UNESCO, 1972.

2. Statement made at Alternatives to Education conference held in New York, December, 1970.

3. International Council for Educational Development, Nonformal Education for Rural Development. (Draft of final report) Essex, Connecticut: ICED, 1972, p.4.

4. Sheffield, James R. & Diejomaoh, Victor P., Non-formal Education in African Development. New York: African-American Institute, 1972.

5. Information on these case studies can be obtained from the International Council for Educational Development, P.O. Box 217, Essex, Connecticut, 06426.

6. Paulston, Rolland G. (ed.) Non-Formal Education: An Annotated Bibliography. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972. p. xii.

INDIGENOUS PATTERNS OF EDUCATION

Roshan R. Billimoria

Interest In Viable Alternatives:

Despite the recent surge of interest in effective nonformal educational alternatives, especially for rural youth in developing countries, relatively little attention appears to have been paid to exploring existing indigenous patterns and para-systems of learning within such regions.

Strung out on a sort of "systems continuum," the more commonly cited examples range from quasi-formal religious educational channels (such as the Kuranic, Wat, and Coptic schools) to semi-systematized apprenticeship arrangements among artisans, craftsmen, and traders.

Perhaps less formalized -- but equally valid -- is the kind of social, civic, and political training associated with various tribal induction systems; the role of roving story-tellers, puppet plays, and mobile theatricals that frequent so many rural market-places; and the mass educational potential of the community development process: an indigenous and integral part of several traditional/post-traditional societies.

Without actually discounting the impact of such patterns of learning (especially with regard to transmitting socio-cultural heritage and certain occupational skills from one generation to the next), policy makers as well as other Western-oriented specialists in the educational field have contended that indigenous systems often block -- rather than facilitate -- the processes of development. Hence, the subject has remained, with a few exceptions, the domain of anthropologists and sociologists; rather than being viewed by educators and other agents of development as a potential infrastructural base -- in terms of facilities, clientele, even personnel -- for future efforts to meet the particular learning needs of rural communities in the developing world.

Focus on Purpose:

Certain questions surface to the fore in a discussion of indigenous patterns of education within the context of learning needs and effective alternatives for rural out-of-schoolers in developing areas. It is the intent of this paper to deal with some of the following, using as a backdrop the information available (from documentation and field experience) on several interesting indigenous systems of education.

The Questions:

. To what extent do such indigenous systems of education meet some of the minimum essential needs outlined in the ICED/UNICEF Interim Report: Nonformal Education For Rural Development -- Strengthening Learning Opportunities For Children and Youth?

- Positive attitudes towards co-operation with family and other associates; towards work, community, and national development; towards continued learning and the development of ethical values.
- Functional literacy and numeracy
- Scientific outlook and elementary understanding of the processes of nature
- Functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household
- Functional knowledge and skills for earning a living
- Functional knowledge and skills for civic participation

. What are the operational aspects and components of such patterns and para-systems of indigenous education:

- in terms of clientele
- stated objectives and content
- instructional techniques and facilities

- personnel and other learning resources
- program size and scope
- sponsorship and sources of funding
- cost factors

. In which way can existing indigenous processes and para-systems be utilized, expanded, and/or built upon to serve as viable educational alternatives for meeting the learning needs of rural communities --- institutionally as well as conceptually. In other words, what potential is there to use these systems as jumping-off points?

. Are there a few good examples of indigenous channels of learning (traditional, rooted in the social milieu and respectable) which have mass education potential -- which are, or could be modified to be, in a position to harness local iniatative, resources, and motivation in order to transmit some of the skills, knowledge, and attitudinal sets discussed earlier?

. What are some of the negative elements of indigenous patterns and processes of learning: how valid are the criticisms voiced against these (especially with regard to obstructing development); and to what extent can some of these drawbacks be combatted?

Interesting Examples:

I. THE BUDDHIST WAT SCHOOLS

Bernard D. Wilder's thesis: An Examination of the Phenomenon of the Literacy Skills of Unschooled Males in Laos contains an interesting section on traditional Lao education as imparted in the Wat schools. (62% of his sample of 7,962 rural unschooled males having acquired literacy "through contact" with the Wat). The Wat is described as being the traditional repository for infor-

mation on a variety of subjects: medical and pharmaceutical knowledge, magical and other animist ceremonial texts, folk tales containing much of the history of the peoples and a host of other topics.

What was not found in the written records were the techniques employed in the arts, crafts, and agricultural practices; or the law and legal framework of the Thai community.

Until the establishment of the French secular school system, Wilder reports that the Wat was virtually the one place a boy could get any semblance of formal education -- there he could learn to read and write, learn certain crafts and skills, and gain an awareness of his cultural heritage.

At present, there seem to be basically three forms of wat schools:
The first is at best informal -- the education acquired through participation in the daily life of the wat, in the ceremonies, and through caring for the garden, the buildings, etc. (Every person who enters the wat benefits from this type of education. It is possible that he may also pick up basic literacy without attending formal classes.)

The second type of wat school has a formal curriculum and formal classes conducted by a monk teacher. These may not be held physically on the grounds of the wat.

The third type of wat school is held for monks only and is taught in the Pali language -- the purpose being to train competent monks, called Mahas after graduation. One contribution of this particular type of wat school appears to be the training of potential teachers of the Lao language in the national schools (for it was observed by Wilder that every Lao language teacher in the grades above six was a Maha and had received his education in a wat).

In spite of the fact that in 1935 the wats modified their curriculum in an attempt to compete with the French elementary schools; entrance into the civil service ranks was still regulated by certificates that were obtained by taking examinations at the end of a program in government schools. Thus with the increase of government schools, especially in the rural areas, the wat schools tended to lose their appeal:

	1961-62	1966-67
Total No. of Wat Schools in the country	252	241
% of Elementary Schools in country that were/are Wat Schools	22%	4%
% of Students in Wat Schools	10%	4%

Even the informal type of wat education (that in the past had quite an effect upon a significant percentage of the male population) tended to decrease in importance as the numbers of males entering the wats -- as well as the duration of their stay -- diminished.

In discussing some of the negative elements of an education acquired in such traditional context (literacy being acquired through the chanting of religious texts, and thus the ensuing phonetic recognition of words). Wilder reports that in terms of his modernization variables, viz: attitude towards children's schooling, mass media exposure, economic level, political awareness, cosmopoliteness, empathy, achievement motivation, the effects of literacy in the wat is not always "what one would desire to foster modernization." Further, the 1935 experience of retraining monk teachers to render wat education more effective -- whereupon many left for jobs in the Civil Service -- might be repeated. In

fact, there is little recent evidence to indicate that monk-teachers can thus be trained at reasonable cost.

And yet, despite these limitations, it seems logical (Wilder continues) to suggest that some means be found to more fully utilize the potential of making large numbers of people literate through the resources of the Buddhist wats -- by providing the monks with in-service training in language instruction methods; by providing improved teaching materials; by inducing the monks to teach content subjects in addition to reading and writing.

Certificates could be given for achievement in the wat schools that would be equivalent to those dispensed by government institutions; the wat could be provided with some sort of financial support in rural areas without regular government schools -- or where these were inadequate.

It would seem to make more sense to spread rural education via community education centers utilizing the structural resources of the wat (buildings, staff, etc.) than to use government schools for this purpose... the wat being the center of village activity, and also an institution which local people are accustomed to support.

Some of these latter recommendations would help offset the more archaic elements of this traditional channel of learning, while at the same time capitalizing on indigenous processes and systems currently in existence within the rural communities concerned.

II. KORANIC AND ISLAMIYYA SCHOOLS

Although there is relatively little information on the potential of the above-mentioned institutions to serve as effective channels of education in rural areas -- a document from the office of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Kano State, Nigeria (1971) does discuss some related issues.

Serving as indigenous systems of education for over 500 years, the Koranic Schools served as the elementary stages of learning among Moslem societies: teaching reading and writing in Hausa as well as "Ajami" (the Arabic script); simple arithmetic; and the fundamentals of the Quran. It was the products of these institutions, who often went on for further education in the Ilm Schools where they learned advanced mathematics, geography, history, language, art, chemistry, philosophy, etc., that formed the judicial, educational, and administrative cadre in the northern states before the coming of Modern Education. An attempt -- in the 1930's -- to integrate the Koranic schools with Government institutions failed largely due to the lack of supervision and the meagre allowances accorded the Koranic Mallams, not to mention the issue of training. In 1964, in another effort of the same sort, a team comprising experts (ILO) and Koranic Mallams was sent to three Muslem countries in Africa, i.e.: Libya, United Arab Republic, and the Sudan, to report on possible ways and means of government support, control, and supervision of such institutions.

As a result, the Ministry of Education has allocated funds for the maintenance and construction of Koranic schools by Native Authorities; as well as for the provision of appropriate equipment and training of qualified teachers -- contingent upon the certification of these schools by an Inspector of Arabic Studies as sufficiently efficient primary schools.

III. THE ETHIOPIAN COPTIC SCHOOLS

The IBRD Group is in the process of reporting on plans to up-date and retrain Coptic Priests to serve as agents of rural development through the traditional channels of Coptic education.

IV. INDIGENOUS SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISES AND APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEMS

For several years now, the name of Archibald Callaway has been associated with various documents and monographs on this system of traditional education as it exists in Nigeria.

His studies analyse indigenous apprenticeship arrangements by which the young learn on the job within locally-owned and managed small-scale enterprises. While a large number of the skills transferred are in fact traditional: techniques of working with wood, metals, leather, cloth, and cane; contemporary skills (ranging from auto-mechanics, electrical wiring, repair work, etc. to driving vehicles, working with freight, and at construction sites) are also transmitted via the apprenticeship system in response to market influences.

In the latter instance, the non-formal sphere - mostly labor intensive - is often a satellite of the large-scale firms or of some of the products they import. A case in point being the importation of cars. Although such a policy is often criticised as being laissez-faire - eating up too much foreign exchange; the non-formal/informal metal working industry is directly dependent on the detritus from the modern car industry for much of its own dynamism. The vast number of motor oil cans collected from petrol stations provide the former sector with material for producing soldered wick lamps. Oil and petrol drums and much of the car body is central to the fabrication of charcoal braziers. Even the bed-making industry is dependent for its springing on the availability of second-hand tires from which the long criss-cross strips can be cut. And all this is quite apart from the numbers of mechanics and panel beaters who keep cars, buses, and trucks on the road long after they would have been scrapped in the West. A similar point could be made about the industries which operate largely with the wood derived from packing cases and crates.

No doubt there are certain limitations to such an indigenous system of skill transfer. There is the possibility that apprentices may become merely a source of cheap labour; there is moreover a ceiling on the technical and managerial proficiencies of the master craftsman.

Further, there is the difficulty of surmounting the rural-urban imbalances even in this sector. The market for non-formal/informal sector goods, though still largely untapped, is bound to be determined by the state of agricultural incomes, and hence oftentimes sluggish. The rural entrepreneur often does not have sufficient work to justify his keeping an apprentice and therefore cannot take advantage of the system to the same extent as his urban counter-part.

Then there is the trouble over licensing -- often impossible to avoid in rural townships.

Despite these draw-backs, what is the potential for expanding on such an indigenous infra-structure?

THE BUSINESS APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING CENTRE AT KADUNA, North Central State of Nigeria, was begun in 1964 as a prototype attempt to utilize the existing traditional structure to transmit modern skills of trade and industry -- the objective being to provide facilities for small businessmen and their apprentices in order to prepare them to take the Federal Ministry of Labor trade test (the required certification for entrance into the government wage scale).

Details about Planning, Recruitment, and Selection, Financing, Staffing, Implementation, Assessment, etc., are contained in a document describing the project put together by the Ford Foundation.

Patrick Van Rensburg's experience with the SWANENG HILL SCHOOL as well as BRIGADE TRAINING IN BOTSWANA offers yet another interesting illustration of on-the-job

apprenticeship training (in skills both traditional and modern), combined with a certain amount of non-technical education. The basic objectives were to train primary school leavers in agricultural as well as craft skills related to the conditions and potential of particular areas -- vocational training of various sorts being provided through Brigades.

The main problems encountered by both projects appear to be the lack of appropriately trained personnel. What are the possibilities of up-grading the skills of master-craftsmen and small entrepreneurs to render them effective transmitters of required occupational skills in urual areas? What are some of the lessons that can be learned from self-help, collective-type schemes such as the Brigades, which utilize indigenous processes as a base for relevant learning activities? What are the implications of such co-operative production and rural mobilization for educational ends?

V. THE EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Just as a discussion of indigenous learning patterns and para-systems must of necessity lead us beyond quasi-formal, relatively systematized channels of traditional education -- so too must it point us not only in the direction of systems and structures, but also indigenous processes of transfer.

Van Rensburg, Roy Prosser and others have touched upon the mass educational implications of the co-operative, community development approach in several traditional societies: indigenous, respectable, but hitherto used primarily for economic ends.

Harambe ("Let's all put together"), Ujamaa (Familyhood, collective endeavour); Gotong Royong -- capture the essence of this concept in various communities. And if we are searching for ways to harness local iniatative, resources, and energy for mass educational ends, the Community Development Movement can become

an effective and acceptable vehicle -- a valid process for transmitting locally needed skills, knowledge, and training.

VI. EDUCATION AND TRAINING IMPARTED THROUGH TRIBAL INDUCTION SYSTEMS

Although the African tribal learning system was primarily an informal process of socializing the individual in the context of his socio-economic environment; there was an element of formalization to ensure that the basic essentials of tribal custom and convention were accurately transmitted, and to meet the more specialized needs of certain essential skills.

The process of socialization concerned the transmission of domestic and economic skills basic to the structure of family life -- and was undertaken within the family: cooking, childcare, and other home activities for the females; the acquisition of skills in animal husbandry, warfare, and hunting for the menfolk; simple agricultural techniques, house-building, for both.

While knowledge of tribal affairs, traditions and customs was gained informally through instruction and advice gained through senior age-sets, (the age-grade system being the most important feature of tribal organization), through village meetings, evening discussions, and more official gatherings of village elders -- the strictly educational core was associated with the initiation ceremonies marking the promotion of one age grade to a senior rank.

Youths received formal instruction in tribal customs and traditions during the period before they assumed adulthood. In some instances, elders coached them in the fundamentals of tribal law. Recognised apprenticeship systems existed where skills were more specialized (black-smithing, metal-work, etc.). Medicine was handed down, both within immediate families and without. Males were born into age-steps as part of an age-grade -- and at appropriate intervals, whole age-grades moved from childhood to warriorhood, and from the after to elderhood, each progression being marked by an elaborate ceremony. Education thus, was

essentially a life-long process.

Apart from the education for age-grades (which included instruction in codes of behavior, social responsibility, courtship, warfare techniques, law and custom) - there was education for specialists (public officials: political leaders and administrators, ceremonial iniators, religious leaders, etc., and artisans: herbalists, potters and gurd workers, blacksmiths, and bee-hive workers) and general education (which occured at social gatherings and formal-informal meetings.) Chukuemeka Manuwuike's dissertation: Alternatives in African Education - The Need for Syntheses between the Traditional and New Systems presents an interesting classification of Traditional Systems of African Education, according to Age, Stages, Curriculum, Methods of Teaching and Teachers. (See attached chart:)

FIGURE 4

SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION IN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETIES*

Age	Stages	Curriculum	Methods of Teaching	The Teachers
Infancy-5 yrs.	Maternal & Nursemaid Education	lullabies, songs, stories, folklore & history, civics, numbers, mimics, religion, music, & dance.	play-way & story method, imitation	The mother, the father, and the nursemaids
6-10 yrs.	Parental Education	farming, arts & crafts, animal-husbandry, history, religion, communications, weather-forecasting, athletics, health & domestic science, record-keeping, numbers, music & dance.	observation, project methods, cooperative learning by doing.	The parent and the community.

continued:

Age	Stages	Curriculum	Methods of Teaching	The Teachers
11-15 yrs.	General Education	religion, social science, vocational education, natural sciences, music & dance, economics & commerce, architecture, hunting & climbing, native law, medicine.	lecture, and project method, discovery, learning by doing, dramatics, group learning.	The Elders, priests, and diviners, elected or appointed members.
16-20 yrs.	Apprenticeship	carpentry, weaving, architecture, hunting, fishing, metallurgy, meterology, medicine, religion, divination.	apprenticeship, individual and group learning	The Professionals
20 yrs. +	Professional Education	music, dance, religion, medicine, metallurgy, meterology.	apprenticeship, cooperative	The Professionals

*The following list is by no means inclusive, but it is representative of educational systems in traditional Africa.

THE WEST AFRICAN BUSH SCHOOLS -- THE "PORO" OF LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE -- offer an interesting illustration of how the socio-civic, political, as well as occupational training associated with tribal induction systems is actually transmitted via a formalized framework.

The sessions of this secret society or school (compulsory for very youth in order to be considered worthy of assuming adult responsibilities) are held in a permanent place selected in the forest away from the principal town of a chiefdom or district -- all the structures erected for the session being burned at its close. The duration varies from eighteen months to several years and the average age of the boys that attend from seven to nineteen years -- the grandmaster (niamu) enjoying majestical status in the society and having acceded

to his position through heredity. Training offered covers instruction in arts, crafts, sports, special occupational skills, the construction of buildings, plus work in the fields and the arts of defence.

Although the Poro is conducted in a special environment -- differentiated from the general social milieu -- the degree of artificiality is not so great as it is under colonial conditions of formal instruction. (Girls go through a corresponding set-up termed "bondo" where they are prepared to assume their place as wives and mothers upon their return).

Although the significance of the poro -- and educational infrastructures like it -- has waned considerably over the years with the growing influence of external cultures and their systems; there is something to be said for channels of learning that were responsive to the needs of rural life and which consciously related education to the world around.

VII. RURAL MARKET-PLACES: TOUCHSTONES TO THE WORLD BEYOND

For rural people, especially in traditional societies, markets are infinitely more than just places to shop -- they are the hub of their social lives; their broadcasting station for news; a place to meet friends and eye rivals. Often small markets occur in cycle: once every four, five, or seven days, establishing a time cycle much more relevant to near-by villagers than the non-indigenous seven day week observed in the capital. Markets, furthermore, are a place of display -- women show off new clothes or jewelry, adolescents newly initiated into adult society come to celebrate; a young man marks his homecoming with an appearance; males and females are permitted to meet and establish relationships not otherwise sanctioned by relatives. Needless to say, markets retain more than purely economic functions in many rural areas.

How can such hubs of rural activity be consciously transformed into learning exchanges? Can the roving story-tellers, the puppeteers, the mobile theatricals that frequent so many rural market-places be put to educational ends? Is the market-place an apt channel through which to present media, exhibitions, etc., that hold relevance for the people who visit it? What about making use of commercial distribution networks (the local medicine man -cum- comic seller) to disseminate educational materials in these areas?

SUMMING UP

There is little reason for an a-priori elimination of patterns and para-systems of learning, especially among those concerned with the question: non-formal education for what? It may well be that indigenous channels of education, if examined in this context, have several useful insights and lessons to offer: from the traditional concept of education in tribal life that stresses learning over teaching; and the potential of indigenous infrastructures to transmit occupational skills; to the roles of a variety of professionals, para-professionals, and non-professionals as instructional agents of one sort or another.

Although it is fair to state that the tremendous potential of indigenous systems of education has barely been tapped, especially in the educational context; several interesting examples do exist of a functional blend of modern requirements and traditional structures and/or processes.

How can these few experiences be multiplied -- whether they relate to the upgrading of the skills of master-craftsmen; to content re-organization in religious schools; to the use of community development motivations for educational purposes; or to the utilization of available local initiative and resources?

Solutions to the real learning needs of today's rural communities in traditional/post-traditional context, must come in large part from indigenous sources. It is possible that an empirical analysis of indigenous patterns and para-systems of learning will point us in this direction.

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"NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN AN URBAN AFRICAN COMMUNITY"

David W. McDowell

Increasing attention has been paid recently to non-formal education in the African context. In the period of the 1950's and 1960's, and particularly after independence for much of the continent, governments began devoting very large percentages of governmental resources to formal educational expansion, in the hope that rapid social and economic development would follow. With little evidence of such a consonance, there has been a shifting of hope to other possible paths, perhaps less expensive and perhaps less dependent on large capital and recurring expenses, to social and economic development.

Non-formal education is variously defined, dependent often upon the perspectives taken. For those interested in "programs" and "projects" outside the school systems, there are examples given of "fairly well-structured projects, which often physically resemble formal schools, and the totally unstructured ones such as traditional apprenticeship centers, on-the-job training, and extension services." (Sheffield, 1972, p. 244) For those interested in "traditional" educational practices, there is attention to processes of the community, kin groups and tribe in child-rearing (For the Yoruba, examples are found in Fajana, 1966, and in Majasan, 1967) and learning of folk-lore (Again for the Yoruba, an example is found in Majasan, 1968). Common to all of these definitions and examples is their "non-school" identification.

This short paper is an attempt to take another perspective in the defining of non-formal education. That perspective is the contemporary urban community, resulting in an empirical definition of the varieties of educational alternatives to the schools available in that community. Such a perspective does not focus merely on projects or programs, and does

not focus merely on the traditional forms of education--rather it identifies the range of educational forms and processes at work in a contemporary urban community. Examination of that range of non-formal education may result in more realistic approaches in attempts to find paths to economic and social development.

The specific community in which a detailed examination of educational alternatives was conducted is Ile-Ife, a city of just over 130,000 population, located in the Western State of Nigeria, West Africa. Ife in 1963 was the sixth largest community in the State, and is believed to be the ancestral home of all ten or so million Yoruba living throughout the State. The study took place in 1968-69 while the researcher was Lecturer in Education at the nearby University of Ife (The study was made possible primarily by grants from the Development Committee of the University of Ife, and by the University's Institute of African Studies. The results of the study are published in the thesis, McDowell, 1971, submitted to Columbia University for the Ph.D.).

The research involved a detailed study of the schools of Ife, and the identification of other educational forms and processes throughout the community. The method of study was primarily anthropological, involving case study collections, participant observations, as well as comprehensive surveys of all apprenticeship crafts, businesses employing three or more persons and kinship analysis in contrasting sections of the community. The article focuses attention on the non-school educational features of the community identified in the survey.

In addition to sixty-two formal schools operating in Ife, enrolling over 16,000 students and employing over 500 teachers, there is a variety of formal educational activity. First, there are the privately owned institutes teaching various technical, commercial, and secretarial subjects, including shorthand, typing, business management, and radio repair. In the case of the secretarial and commercial institutes, students are prepared for the

Royal Society of Arts and Pitman's examinations. Normally these classes involve lectures and practical exercises with typewriters for one hour daily for each student. Evaluation of radio repair students is fairly subjective and does not involve standard examinations. Monthly charges range from 6 to 10 shillings per subject. Classes and practical sessions are usually held in the afternoons and early evenings, although a few institutes are open in the morning. None of these institutes is offically recognized by or subsidized by the government.

Nine of these Institutes were identified in 1968. By July, 1969, only 7 remained, reflecting partly the fact that these institutes are undoubtedly fragile in any economic climate.

The length of training varies, according to entrance qualifications and type of credential desired. Secondary modern schooling is the stated entry requirement, although lower educational levels are acceptable in some cases. A six month period of training is said to be normal for the secondary modern graduate. Practical (practice) exercise is stressed, particularly in the secretarial institutes. Only a few lectures are given, and very little reading material is available. There is some supervision of typing exercises. Instruction in shorthand involves greater pupil-teacher interaction, but is still based largely on correspondence school materials obtained elsewhere.

A total of seventy-five students were identified in the survey, and were taught by ten staff. The age of the students ranged from 15 to 22 years. Most of the students were male, and no girls were in the radio repair institutes. The products of these institutes usually have great difficulty in securing well-paying jobs. In the case of the pupils in the radio-repair institutes, some may try to set up their own business; initially, however, they would work with some master who has the necessary tools and equipment. In the case of the secretarial school graduates, success on the R.S.A. exams

is scaled, allowing a standard and reliable evaluation of the individual's capability. English preparation in the primary and secondary modern schools is the more significant determinant of success on the job than the length of training or the skills learned.

These institutes can be said to be primarily profit-making institutions which often supplement the main occupation and income of the proprietors. Three of the secretarial institutes are operated by wives of successful businessmen in the community. Although they provide a means for young individuals to attempt to increase their skills and talents, there are unfortunately few known cases of success attained as a result of such enrollment.

Three "home study institutes" were identified. These are basically private "schools" often operated by retired teachers for young people wanting special tutilege in order to pass a particular examination in the formal school system. One home study institute studies in some detail was operated by a retired primary school teacher and headmaster who desired to keep busy and useful in his retirement. It caters primarily to primary school graduates who need extra help in preparing for entrance exams to grammar schools, but is open to wider range of students. Classes are held at various times of the day, dependent upon courses taken and the type of students.

Facilities in the one home study institute studied in detail are adequate in terms of furniture, chalkboard, and basic text material, and, although small in scale, compares favorably with many primary schools in Ife. Two new classrooms are under construction on property adjacent to the proprietor's residence; these classrooms are designed to hold approximately 30 students each.

Statistics are not very accurate on the institute, since they could not be verified by observations despite repeated visits. It was claimed that there were 137 students enrolled in 1969, of which 120 are in "regular

attendance", and three part-time instructors. Classes are held at various times of the day and evening, in groups of 4 to 9 students. There is a 6 shilling fee charged per month for most courses for one hour of instruction daily.

It is difficult to evaluate the success or effectiveness of such an institute, although this proprietor claimed that 17 of his 1968 pupils gained admission into secondary grammar schools. The fact that the proprietor is a relatively highly trained and experienced teacher, with over 30 years of teaching and administrative experience in the formal schools is indication that the profit motive is not the primary reason for his involvement in this educational institute.

A number of persons in Ife are regularly engaged in taking formalized courses offered either through the Adult Education Department of the nearby University of Ife or through correspondence schools in Nigeria. One hundred and fifty-four of those taking adult evening courses were those who worked as secretaries, clerks and typists at the University; an additional 145 worked in Ife, most of these teachers in Ife schools. These evening courses were designed for "Ordinary" or "Advanced" level work for the external General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations, or for the R.S.A. or Pitman's examinations in business subjects. In addition to these courses, there are hundreds of Ife persons taking correspondence course work with the many schools advertising regularly in Nigerian newspapers. It is quite common to see clerks and typists in Ife businesses reading their correspondence school booklets during regular working hours. Of the Ife teachers in 1969, about 30 percent have taken some subjects by correspondence. All of these schools charge fees, sometimes rather large ones, for their booklets and service. These schools do not publish annual reports, so that actual enrollments and profits cannot be known. They appear to make large profits, judging from the number of large advertisements in the daily newspapers.

Due to these profits, there is a rather low regard for these schools and their services, particularly by those not taking the courses.

Except for the formal school system, the largest program involving the education of Ife youth is that of the apprenticeship crafts. According to the survey, there are 1,407 apprentices learning a particular trade from 495 masters. This on-the-job training existed among the Yoruba many years before the arrival of the first Europeans. This indigenous form of education and work is principally a relationship between a master of a particular trade and a group of young people apprenticed to the master for a period of several years. During this time, the master receives the economic contribution of the work of the apprentices in return for the apprentices' learning the particular trade. At the end of the period of apprenticeship the young person receives his "freedom". In practice, all the apprentices who receive their freedom usually do not leave the master immediately but may remain with the master as a "journeyman". These latter workers are recognized as masters of the craft, and are given special responsibilities by the master, such as being in charge of the business during the absence of the master while he travels on business. The responsibility of training and overseeing the work of the apprentices is formally that of the master, but in practice is usually delegated to the journeyman. There is no formal education given to these apprentices--no lectures, books, or other aids. Rather, they learn through a process of observation and imitation, first given small jobs and later given more complex responsibilities, such as bookkeeping and work as messengers. Discipline is extremely strict, and mistakes or misbehavior are severely dealt with by the master. Observations of some of these small crafts have revealed that few questions are asked of the master, and the process of learning is very slow. Although in former years it is known that the master often paid the apprentices for their period of service and learning, in recent years fees have been charged of many apprentices.

The types of crafts involved ranges from the very traditional forms of herbalism to the more modern businesses of photography and motor mechanics. Most crafts are those of tailoring, seamstress work, motor mechanics and carpenters. These four groups constitute 65 percent of all apprentices surveyed in Ife. Seventy-seven percent of the apprentices were male.

Entry requirements into apprenticeship training vary widely according to the type of business. The age of apprentices ranges from 9 to 31 years, although 96 percent are between the ages of 12 and 25 years, and approximately one-third of the total are in the 15 to 16 year group. The formal educational entry requirements are determined largely by the nature of the business. Printing has the highest formal educational attainment generally, for both masters and apprentices, being a minimum of primary six, with many apprentices with secondary modern degrees. Goldsmiths have the lowest for the larger group of businesses, ranging from no formal education to a few years of primary schooling. The expansion of formal schooling in recent years does not appear to conflict with the apprenticeship system as a whole. On the contrary, most of the masters, particularly in those businesses where formal education--and attendant literacy in particular--is useful, seek to employ as highly educated apprentices as possible.

Still another type of educational process is that in the Koranic schools among the Muslim population of Ife. Most of these schools are associated with a Mosque. They do not receive official recognition by, or assistance from, the government. There were 10 Koranic schools operated in Ife in August, 1968, in which 20 teachers (some of whom are referred to as Mallams) are engaged in the instruction of 458 students. All but one of the teachers are male. The age of entrance varies from school to school, ranging from no requirements to several years of schooling in formal schools. The reported length of training varies greatly, but averages about five or six years. There is the obvious concentration on Arabic and Muslim studies--including

the study of the Koran--and worship. Along with these sometimes are a surprising variety of courses similar to those of formal schools: writing, dictation, arithmetic, animal study, music, and certain variations on these subjects.

There were 340 male and 118 female students in these ten Koranic schools surveyed, distributed throughout several years of instruction: one school has 2 years of classes, 3 have 3 years, 4 have 4 years, and 1 each has 5 and 6 years of instruction.

Judging from the apparent age of the students observed, almost all students have had little or no formal schooling. From most evidence, there is no need for literacy in any language. No student texts are used, and Arabic is the medium of instruction almost exclusively.

There are usually no tables, chairs or stools used in these classrooms, often merely a side room in a Mosque. Each child is expected to bring a small board which serves as his drawing tablet and personal blackboard. Arabic is drawn on these boards in washable ink, so that the tablet can be re-used regularly. No instructional materials can be seen on the walls or available for use. The fees charged for this instruction range from none to several pounds for a several year period.

One could continue to document a variety of other ways by which young people are exposed to learning situations over sustained periods of time--such as the family, radio, newspapers, and personal contacts throughout a variety of social assembleges within the community. Perhaps for this short paper, however, it might be possible to conclude, having identified some of the major elements of educational alternatives to the formal schools, particularly those which are highly visible, are sustained over long periods of time, and have a significant impact on the vocational training and value formation of young people in Ife. One should note that what has been presented is a wide range of alternatives which are not

recognized officially as part of the formal system of education, either by government or by voluntary agencies now extensively engaged in the formal educational enterprise. Whether they should be, and whether they should selectively be aided financially as an essential feature of education in the urban community are questions between the scope of this paper. But it must be recognized that these alternatives are definitely a part of the educational picture of the urban African context.

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CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING COMMUNITIES

A NON-FORMAL LEARNING MODEL FOR URBAN AFRICA

David Rosen

As African planners concern themselves with the creation and establishment of new forms of education, new educational models are needed for them to consider. Of course, African educators consider schools and programs now operating in other parts of the world, industrial, non-industrial, and industrializing, rich, poor, and developing, and evaluate them in light of African needs. But the need for models created by Africans, which attempt both to incorporate the best thinking of African educational and political leaders, and offer practical solutions to pressing African educational problems, goes unfulfilled.

This collection of ideas is an example of such a model as it might appear in operation. It is not a school, but rather an alternative to school for those who cannot attend, or whose needs cannot be served by schools. It attempts to address the problems created by an educational system which offers only one model, formal schooling, to meet the educational needs of all people, and it is based in part upon the thinking of African leaders, in particular that of Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania. Some of the problems which the model attempts to address are listed below, and it ought to be judged, in part, on the likelihood of its contributing to their solution:

1. Young people who do not or who will not have access to schooling will not have access to the benefits of modern society.

2. The 1960's creation of schools produced and continues to produce an output of students greater than the growth of wage employments, re-

sulting large-scale youth unemployment.

3. Widespread schooling is expensive for a developing country, in its present form, perhaps more costly than it benefits.

4. Young people who are studying in secondary schools are not, during their time of study, productive in the economy, wasting a potentially valuable resource of energy and talent.

As it has not been created by an African, and has not had the benefit of African criticism, the model may suffer from oversights and misunderstandings, and the solutions it proposes may be inappropriate. It is not intended to be "implemented" however, but rather to stimulate African educators and planners to create models themselves which address the crucial problems as they see them, and offer a vision of a better society.

THE FOLLOWING IS AN IMAGINARY TRANSCRIPT OF A WRITTEN AND TAPE-RECORDED JOURNAL OF A FOREIGN VISITOR TO THE HYPOTHETICAL NATIONAL MODULAR LEARNING AND LABOUR CO-OPERATIVES, A SYSTEM OF MODERN AFRICAN CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING COMMUNITIES.

> "If Africa will take off in economic growth it will very likely do so from the basis of its own culture. This will not be its past culture, but a new African culture, stimulating its members to society oriented production of services and goods. Education has then to become the formalized generating factor of this new culture."[1]

MONDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 13

It is eight o'clock A.M. The taxies and Peugeot buses are carrying people to work in the markets, small shops, offices and schools. I am standing just inside a movie theatre which seats over three hundred people. No one will come to work here until this evening. Last year, five days a week, while most of the city labored, the Bijou was idle and empty. Now, students from work-learning co-operatives all over the city are seated inside, waiting for the film; an apprentice from the mechanical repairs co-operative turns down the house lights and "Leather Tanning in Morocco" begins.

After the first showing, an American Peace Corps volunteer, who has had training in leather crafts in Morocco, and who speaks French and English, and a Moroccan gentleman who owns a small leather-working shop near the main market, answer questions from the audience. The volunteer translates for the Moroccan. When there are no more questions, the Peace Corpsman, a teacher in the leather crafts co-operative, points out parts of the process students will want to pay special attention to, and raises questions for them to consider while they view the film for the second time.

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[1]"Innovation in Education - A Theoretical Background Paper" prepared by the Educational Study Group of the Institute of Social Studies and the C.E.S.O. for the Symposium on Educational Innovations in Africa - Policies and Administration, September, 1971, in Addis Ababa. I.S.S. Doc. 28/241.

TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 14

"This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good.... This means that the educational system...must emphasize co-operative endeavor, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits." - Julius Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance"

I am at a weekly meeting of one of the cloth co-operatives tonight, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Moulu, the parents of Francis Moulu, the co-op president. I have just been given a copy of tonight's agenda:

"AGENDA OF YANNA YARD CLOTH CO-OPERATIVE MEETING

14 December 1971

I. Introduction of guest.

II. Introduction of members of Y.Y.C.C.

III. Discussion of problems concerning practical learning modules.

IV. Discussion of problems concerning afternoon work.

V. Discussion of problems related to evening academic learning modules.

VI. Discussion of other problems or concerns.

VII. Refreshments for all."

I met Francis last Friday when he and students from each of the other two cloth co-operatives were having lessons in tying and dying. From Tuesday through Saturday every week, for four weeks, they have met with Musu at her house. She teaches them the traditional way, making certain they have mastered each kind of tie. They can make blue dye from indigo leaves, a rich orange from camwood, and a subtle rust from kola nuts, and they know the secret of mordanting cloth so the dye won't wash out. They

are learning not only the skills of tie-dye, but the significance of each design and when it is to be worn.

I asked Musu why she taught what had taken her long to learn without gaining something in return. Answering through Francis, she immediately corrected me; she had spent many years learning her craft -- first she had had to pay her teachers with rice, and then apprentice herself for two years without earnings. She smiled, "but of course not for nothing."

Francis explained that she and several other adults who modeled their skills for the students were enrolled in classes to learn how to speak English and to read and write. He added that Musu did not like to have to rely on her brother to talk for her each time she went to bargain with the cloth merchants at the market.

While waiting for members of the co-operative to arrive -- these meetings never seem to start on time -- I talked with Francis and Tommy Kwia about their Friday afternoon English language classes. Tommy explains:

"When I joined the cloth co-operative last year, I had finished primary school and two years of secondary school. I knew how to speak English and to read and write. When our co-operative was meeting with other co-operatives earlier this year, and we were brainstorming ways to interest craftsmen to teach us skills, someone suggested they may like to learn to read and write, even some to speak English. I said that I had taught my younger brothers to speak, and that of course I could read and write. Later, our teacher, Mr. Wilson, showed me the teaching modules which I might use. In fact, there are many people enrolled in my course...."

The other members of the co-operative had arrived and Francis suggested we begin. The meeting went on and on. Everyone had to have his say and all of the major problems for which policy was made had to have group con-

sensus. I was surprised, actually, that the group was able to achieve consensus so quickly and wondered if they had received training in group decision-making.

I would like you to hear a small part of the meeting which I taped to give you an idea how a co-operative does business. When they reached Agenda item IV, there were a number of problems. The supplier of indigo leaves had raised his prices, a craft shop which had been buying their batik handbags had closed, and an exhorbitant customs duty was being charged on one of their parcels of English dyes. Then the dyers had a criticism of the seamstress-tailors that they wanted the group to consider.

"You people (the seamstress-tailors) are working too slow. Everyday this week, myself and this boy, Malik, have finished dying the cloths before three o'clock because there is no supply of sewed or tied cloths ready to dye. We have finished all. So we have to wait until next day before getting more cloths from you to dye, and that is a wasting of time."

After much defending and more criticizing, Francis suggested that they brainstorm to solve the problem.

"Remember, please, while we brainstorm, everyone's ideas are good. If someone's idea reminds you of another idea, say it. You can ask what someone means if you don't understand, but no criticizing now. We are trying to get as many ideas as we can...."

"...and give one dyer something else to do....Let him teach dying in another co-operative....Train more people to tie cloths....Train one dyer to sew cloths so one seamstress-tailor can just sew....Let the man get himself one beer to drink, set down and... aha! Train the dyer to tie the cloths, so when he has finished dying, he can tie."

The brainstorming stopped here because everyone agreed that that was the solution. Tomorrow morning, one of the seamstress-tailors will begin to give the dyers modules in tying.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 15

> "The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools' -- except for short periods of initiation in some tribes -- did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms, they were taught the skills of the society and the behavior expected of its members."
>
> -- Julius K. Nyerere. op. cit.

The market is alive this morning. Women carry head pans of fish, greens, Akara, cassava, rice, bitter tomatoes, and oranges. Market tables are ready for business with penny piles, three penny piles and six pence piles of everything from fruit and vegetables to soap and chewing sticks. A crowd of men is gathering around an early palm wine vendor.

"MECHANICAL REPAIRS CO-OPERATIVE
NATIONAL MODULAR LEARNING AND LABOUR CO-OPERATIVES
ADDRESS: 11 BRIGHT ST. TELE: 01320
BUSINESS HOURS: 8: A.M. - 5: P.M.
MODEST PRICES EXPERT REPAIRS
BICYCLES, MOTORCYCLES, SEWING MACHINES,
TYPEWRITERS, SMALL BUSINESS MACHINES, ETC. ETC."

The co-operative occupies two market stalls and is covered with translucent fibreglass which sets it apart from the fruit and vegetable merchants. There are twelve students working inside the co-operative, each group of three working on a different kind of machine.

Mr. Sekou, the mechanics teacher, is off to one side absorbed in repairing a movie projector. I learn that it belongs to the Bijou where the co-operatives show films on Monday mornings. The NMLLC (National Modular Learning and Labour Co-operatives) have a contract with the Bijou which provides operators for their regular performances, clean-up after each show, and immediate repairs on any projector which breaks. In return, the co-operatives have use of the theatre anytime it isn't being used for commercial purposes.

While Mr. Sekou and I converse, it soon becomes apparent that he does not actually teach a class, so I ask him how the modular learning system works. For every three co-operatives which use a long-term skill model (some of the co-operatives, the cloth co-ops for example, are able to gain the skills they need through contracts with a number of short-term skill models) a skilled artisan or tradesman shares his time equally among them in return for a share of the profits from each co-op, constituting one third of a total agreed-upon salary, usually a larger amount than he would be able to earn by himself at his trade. He is responsible to model his skills in modular format for each of the three groups, and for competency and quality control.

In the early months of a co-operative's existence, he works for the co-ops full time in one place and all the profits from their repairs will go to him. At this time, profits are usually barely sufficient to pay half of his salary, and the rest is supplied through a loan from the NMLLC, but later as the co-ops get on their feet, they assume full responsibility for his salary. After several months, the students are skilled enough to use his services only half a day and pay him half salary, and if he has kept up his trade, he can return to it part time or he can become a co-op member and receive a share of the profits.* By then, too, they are able to begin to repay their loan to the NMLLC for his salary, their tools, and their back dues.

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* Having been a skill model, he is entitled to a slightly larger percent of the projects and he can also attend any number of NMLLC learning modules to pick up additional skills for himself at no charge.

I asked Mr. Sekou to explain modular curriculum for me and he handed me the written example which I have included in the appendix. He also showed me a large loose-leaf of such modules, and when, as I glanced through it, I expressed surprise that there was a book which met his purposes so well, he smiled. He explained that just after he had been hired by the NMLLC, one of the Peace Corps volunteers working with the co-ops had come to see him to explain modular curriculum and to discuss with him what he was going to teach the students. He gave the volunteer a list and then forgot completely about it. Three months later this loose-leaf book came to him from Amherst, Massachusetts with modules to deal with his objectives. Of course some had to be modified. "We don't repair many electric sewing machines here," he smiled. "Oh, and the students use them as well."

"Yes, you see," he explained, "we use what we call peer teaching here; actually a way we have used in Africa for years." He stopped to offer me half a kola nut. "Traditionally the older children have taught the younger and a child who has a skill that another of the same age does not, is willing to teach him. Of course, with children who go to school it is different; they sometimes want to keep their knowledge, like secrets, ah, but here is how peer teaching can work...."

"On Tuesday, from 8:00 to 10:00, I teach a module, let us say, on how to pack bicycle wheel bearings. Two students from each co-op watch me, and at the same time, each packs the bearings of a wheel that he has brought. I watch them very carefully to see that the work is good, the wheel must be able to turn freely but without play. Some learn right away, others have to do the module a second time; usually no one has to do the module more than twice.

"When a student has demonstrated that he can pack the wheel bearings properly, he must then teach this to other students in his co-operative. It is only necessary, of course, that one or two be able to do each module, but if there is plenty of business at once, or those two are both ill, it is better for more to know. On Wednesday morning, as you see now, each student who has learned about wheel bearings will teach the others. Then, sometime that week, each person who has packed wheel bearings will show the wheel to me and I will check the work. If it is correct, I will mark down that he has passed that module and has that competency. If it is not correct, he can do the module again. If several are not correct from one co-operative, then I must check to see that they have been taught correctly, but this does not often happen, you know, because when a student knows that tomorrow he must teach what he is learning today, he is careful to make sure he understands it quite well!

"Some skills I teach are more difficult to learn. A student has to have some mechanical experiences first. I will not teach those until the second year, and by that time students from this co-operative may have achieved enough modules that they will be skill models for next year's first year mechanical repairs co-ops."

(The director of the co-operatives, in a visit later, provided me with a schematic drawing which explains how horizontal and vertical peer teaching work. It is included in the appendix.)

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 15

I spent this afternoon with Tommy Kwia going to craft stores, where he showed samples of new cloth co-op products and took orders for them; collapseable lamp shades, hats and caps, linen tablecloths, water-repellent coats and umbrellas, drapes, wall hangings made from tie-dye and batik,

country cloth purses, hats and cushion covers. As we walked slowly in the hot, dry-season sun, we talked about Tommy's work and about what he saw is his future.

I asked Tommy to explain how the co-op last night was able to reach consensus as quickly as it did. He explained that it was a feeling that they all had, the feeling of being able to trust each other, and the belief that each had to rely on the resources, creativity, and good will of all the members. The problem of the seamstress-tailors was genuinely of concern to all, he said. Everyone realized that the co-operative as a whole would produce less, that their share of co-op revenues would be less, and if carried to the extreme, the co-operative would not be able to continue to pay its recurrent costs and would no longer exist.

I was now even more intrigued to know how the people came to recognize the dependence of each on the group as a whole. Tommy explained, "When we joined the co-operative movement, we each chose the co-op we wanted to be a member of, by our preference for the work we would do there. I chose the cloth co-op because I have done a little of this work. My mother makes cloth this way in our village.

When those interested in doing cloth first met, we were told that we would be going to the country for three weeks. We would be living together in the forest, not in a village, and the boys and the girls would go together. You might imagine our reaction, and in fact, two of the boys said by all means they could not! How would we live, I wondered? And for what purpose? I am thankful that the second year boys were there to encourage me, because I do not think I would have gone.

Living in the forest was very important. We had to learn to survive together; using our intelligence, enduring together so many hardships, working together to trap animals, to find roots to eat, to make shelters... and it was rainy season!

Some of us had never been outside of the city before, and even I had forgotten so many important skills my father had taught me. I can say that it was during this time that our group became close. Afterwards we knew we could be certain of each other, and we learned very well that together we have strength and cunning, much more than each alone."

After Tommy and I had stopped at two shops, we had a long walk before the next one so I asked him about his plans for the future. "We have talked of moving into the interior," he began. "Although co-operatives are intended to stay in the city, if we can provide transportation for our products and purchasing our raw materials, it will be less expensive for us to live in the country. Of course I would still have to spend more time in the city than the country to sell our things."

I asked him if he didn't plan eventually to leave the co-operative and go to the university and get a government job. "Anyway, I wouldn't mind if I had the chance, but so many boys now have degrees and no jobs. I have no degree, not even G.C.E., or any certificate but School Leavers's.

I asked him if he hoped sometime to set up by himself in business, to start a shop or a company. "Of course, if I could make more profit, I would leave the co-op, but you see, I am not sure whether this would be possible, and you know a man does not go to the forest to look for meat when he has plenty at home."

We turned into the cloth section of the main market, and I left Tommy to ply his trade.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15

> "The mother is in charge of the co-education of her children. In the evening, she teaches both boy and girl the laws and customs, especially those governing the moral code and general rules of etiquette in the community. The teaching is carried on in the form of folklore and tribal legends. At the same time the children are given mental exercises through amusing riddles and puzzles which are told only in the evenings after meals, or while food is being cooked." From Facing Mt. Kenva, Jomo Kenyatta.[2]

At present, the co-operative movement offers nine academic courses which meet on four evenings during the week.

1. Reasoning and Problem Solving for Creative Intelligence.
2. Principles of Co-Operative Economics.
3. History of the Co-Operative movement in Africa and the world.
4. Comparative African Governments.
5. Reading Technical Literature.
6. At Ease in Two Worlds: Traditional and Modern Life in Africa Examined Through Reading of Literature.
7. African Political Thought.
8. Consumer Education.
9. Independent Study.

Each student usually enrolls in at least two courses a year and a co-op team, as a team, must have competency in six areas before it enters the second phase of its operation as a fully working co-operative. The teachers of these courses are education, politics, and sociology majors from the university, who teach a course for one semester as a part of their degree requirement. They have all undergone a one semester university course in innovative methods of teaching, and competency-based education.

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[2]Kenyatta, Jomo, Facing Mt. Kenya, Chapter 5, "System of Education," p. 100.

On Thursday evening, I visited a class in Reasoning and Problem Solving. When I entered the classroom, I saw four circles of Kerosene lamps. The co-ops have a contract with the government primary schools to use them in the evening. Each student provides his own lamp in the schools without electricity. Students were seated on top of the desks, chalk slates in hand, and each group was working on a problem. They were the imaginative sorts of problems I had found in puzzle books as a youngster, the ones whose solutions seem obvious.

The group I sat with worked out a problem which required connecting a number of dots with one continuous straight line, without the chalk leaving the slate, and then one requiring their constructing four equilateral triangles from six match sticks. I observed that as a student got the solution, he would not tell it until the others had a good try. After each small group had an opportunity to try its problems, all of which required uncommon solutions, the class as a whole was presented with this problem: "Imagine that you are responsible for seeing that there is good communication among co-operatives, and you find that there is a great deal of rumour and mis-information. What kind of structure could you set up to assure that everyone could always have correct information? Remember the lessons of the puzzles."

There were many solutions using times of common meeting to dispel rumours, but the cleverest suggestion and one that was subsequently implemented during my stay was to have a co-op question and answer show on the radio twice a week; it also promised to promote better understanding of the co-operative movement by the rest of the community.

THURSDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 16

Today I visited the father of a student in the masonry co-op, Mr. James Kofi, and heard his feelings about what his son, Samson, was experiencing in the co-op.

"You know, I was educated in school, but not until I had received my African education. I mean our traditional way. As a boy, I went with other boys to the beach. First we were taught by the older boys to swim and to manage dangerous waves. Then they taught us the launching of boats. After that, one by one, we would apprentice ourselves to a boat and learn to sail, to make and mend nets, to cast them and haul them, and especially to read the sky for the weather. We learned together, first from the older boys and after from the skilled men, and of course much from each other. We learned by doing the thing we were learning. And the subject matter of our education was the sea, its potential for giving a better life. My son does not study the sea as I did; he studies the materials of the earth. But he is getting a real African education."

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 16

> "Schools must in fact, become communities--and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance....This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities."
> - Julius K. Nyerere from "Education for Self Reliance".

This afternoon I was finally able to meet the director of the co-operative system, Mr. Charles Okole.* I was expecting to be received by a man in a business suit behind a desk, but was pleasantly surprised to find him working in his garden, wearing patched Khaki. As we talked, he tied up his yam plants and weeded his lettuce and beans.

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* I had heard much about this singular man. He was trained in agricultural technology at Makrere an agriculture extension officer for eight years, he was responsible for a large scale co-operative swamp rice project. Later, he taught agriculture at the University here for several years before he became director of NMLLC.

I was anxious to learn about the financial aspects of the co-operatives' operation, how much they cost, how many instructors were employed and who footed the bill. To my amazement, I discovered that the co-ops cost virtually nothing to the government and charge the students no tuition fees.

Each of the thirty co-ops with from eight to twelve students, manages its own finances, through its own productive labor. Only the salaries of the directors, a half-time accountant, and a half-time program development specialist are paid for by outside sources, in this case with money saved by the government from its use of expatriate volunteers in administrative jobs.

With the exception of the three cloth co-ops, all the co-operatives contract with a long-term skill model whose services are generally used half time by three co-ops. His salary is paid from revenues raised by all three. There is a highly structured and demanding conservation and dissemination of knowledge provided by these skill models, transmitted through learning modules and checked at many points.

Mr. Okole explained that the entire structure is what he calls team-competency-based. As he proudly showed me a large head of lettuce, he explained that a student did not take courses to pass from year to year. Individually he received achievement credits for competency-based modules, but these credits were of no value to him unless these were added with the achievement credits of other members of his co-operative team. When a team achieved a certain number of these credits, it achieved a second-level status, new privileges and responsibilities, and the pride of accomplishment.

Members of teams at second-level status, for example, are entitled to have internships, a three-to-six week apprenticeship with a skilled artisan or tradesman which enables the student to see all facets of the vocation. Members also have the opportunity to take out a government loan to buy their

own tools. At the second-level status, they are expected to, and take pride in providing first-level instruction to new co-operative teams, and they are expected to take a greater part in contracting their services for the benefit of all the co-ops.

I asked Mr. Okole as he began to pick the ripe beans, about the use of contracting in the co-ops. "We have many kinds of contracts," he began. When you went to the mechanical co-operative you may have noticed the unusual fibreglass roof. This was the product of three reciprocal contracts. One of the mechanical boys noticed over a period of time that the fibreglass roofing material in the courtyard of an unfinished house owned by a big man in town was not being used, and that little progress was being made in the construction of the house.

He called on the Big Man, and outrightly made him an offer, the completion of his house for the translucent roofing materials he was planning to use for the porch. The boy had correctly observed that the man was in a financial pinch, and his offer was well-received. He then went to the masons co-op and offered as many hours labour making cement blocks, a tedious job as it would take the masons to complete the house. The mechanics then presented the whole plan to his team, and after careful calculations by all parties, found that it was an arrangement that well-served the needs of all. Ingenious?"

I was impressed, and asked him to tell me more about the contracts that co-ops had. "So many, I would have to pick unborn beans before I finished telling you about them, but there are two other kinds. We have several contracts with European and American importers, for example. I don't know whether you have seen the fine hammocks we make based on a traditional African hammock, or if you have seen our rattan furniture. We ship these to a concern in Vermont and another in Massachusetts, U.S.A.

"Another kind of contract we are developing is with some villages in the interior. It seems that some of our students, in the cloth co-op and in the hammock/wood-carving co-ops, feel that they can do better if they settle in the countryside when their training is completed. This was actually a surprise for me, as it has been rare in the past for young people to want to return to the villages, but you can see that here is a case where they can return and take their trade with them and live for less money than in the city. They are looking for a village that will agree to build a workshop and supply them with raw materials, wood, fibres, and natural dyes for low costs in return for their helping to train children in the villages to do their kind of work. I believe they will be able to train many to do this work. Our hammocks are very popular in U.S.A., as well as our rattan tables and chairs!

"There are two other contracts I have been thinking about. I would like to propose to the government that we train African students to replace expatriates in middle level occupations. Of course this would require a special sort of co-op, one that would not exist as a working team after the members were trained. But you know, the need tempts me in this direction, and we have such resources for practical training! I would also like to persuade one of the voluntary agencies or A.I.D. to give me a practical designer for a year. You know there are so many low level technological products co-operatives could produce. Our modular learning system is flexible enough to accommodate rapid learning of new technology. I have heard that American designers have invented low-cost radios which can be made for under a shilling, refrigerators for under three pounds, inexpensive brick-making machines, pipe-making machines, educational televisions and even re-cyclable dishes. Our co-operatives could be making all these things![3]

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[3] Popaneck, Victor, Design for the Real World, Pantheon Books.

"But perhaps you would like to know something of our philosophy and the intellectual sources of our energies, or have you already read about our history?" I admitted I hadn't and he asked me to remind him to get me a pamphlet when we returned to the house.

"You are no doubt acquainted with Julius Nyerere's essay on Self Reliance." I said that I was.

"Our ability to rely on ourselves as individuals and parts of teams, rather than on the state or on extra-national sources of aid, is the first leg we stand on. (We pay our recurrent costs and we squeeze every drop from every resource, wasting nothing, wasting no-one, wasting no space.) We like to say that everyone is replaceable, because everyone here is trained to have many useful skills so that the team may still function if one person is for a time unable to perform his tasks, but no one is dispensible. All rely upon each other for the benefit of all. That is the second leg, co-operative interdependence.

"Our third leg is what I like to call Creative Intelligence, the belief that every person is a potential source of imagination and ingenuity who can be tapped for our needs. I wonder if you have seen our brainstorming in action?

"Through reasoning, which we teach in our academic courses, and through imagination, the creative intelligence of the African mind can solve any problem.

"The fourth leg of our philosophy is what I call Learning by Doing, what some have called incidental learning, others practical learning, some even inductive learning. Simply, it is the commitment to starting with the experience of a thing, seeing it, touching it, manipulating it, living with it for a while, and then and only then, but definitely then, moving toward the under-

standing of the thing. Without examples in the real world, our theory is empty, and without concepts and theory our examples are powerless fragments of disconnected reality. It is only through knowledge, experience, and the understanding of experience that we gain power to lead better lives. Ah... but I can go on and on. You know I am an educator at heart!

"The fifth leg...you have never seen an animal before with five legs? Well every animal carries an invisible fifth leg, the leg he stood on before he was born, the leg of the past, in our case, the leg of African traditions. You see, so many of our innovations are simply the discovery and re-application of our past."

MAO'S GOLDEN RULE: EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Walter B. Johnson

Since Richard Nixon's visit to the Chinese People's Republic, Americans have become fascinated, if not obsessed, with things Chinese. This re-emergence of China in the life and thought of the American people has been sudden and striking, and reactions have more often been conditioned by the American mood and American preconceptions than by an objective analysis of the abundant information and extensive personal experiences available from China today.

If anything, the American mood is one of discovery and excitement. The extraordinary skills of the young men and women members of the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe and the amazing assertions of the acupuncturist are rightly enchanting to a people whose knowledge of China for the past generation has been one colored by Cold War priorities and Western ethnocentricism.

Still, there is a kind of embarrassment, not to say guilt, on the part of many Americans in their realization that China survived in spite of American efforts at isolating and containing her. A nation of "laundrymen, cooks and gardeners" did something truly remarkable without our help. Consequently, who can deny the phenomena that is Maoist China and the future it portends?

Certainly no one can. In one generation China has been organized in a way never before deemed possible. There is today a national spirit and identity which greatly surpasses the dreams of earlier leaders in the rise and splendor of Chinese empires. China's severest critics cannot but admire Peking's capability today at delivering a minimum tolerable level of daily service to her people

on a regular basis for the first time. In Mao Tse-Tung there is the charisma and in China's new society the commitment to ensure that the Chinese contribution to tomorrow's world will be of consequence.

It is fitting, therefore, in the aftermath of the Great People's Cultural Revolution and the subsequent transformation now taking place in China, that the present Chinese emphasis on education be examined in its implications for the future of that nation.

Traditionally, role of education has been proverbial in indicating China's overall directions and development. As was true of past Chinas, Maoist China is also a humanist culture; its orientation is secular, directed at organizing itself in and for this world. Education is the critical aspect in this need to order the conduct of human affairs and regulate human relations.

> "Because a nation seeks through education to mold the character of its citizens and so reflects its aims - political, social, economic, and cultural - a study of its educational system can contribute as richly to an understanding of its aims in general as a direct study of its political policies."1

In so doing, however, one needs to be cautioned, particularly in light of the present global concern for alternative educational systems and methods, to resist generalization. The Cultural Revolution ended in 1969. The revolution in education is only beginning. Thus, we may for sometime need to heed the lesson of the five blind men in the Indian parable who, in touching an elephant's ear, side, leg, trunk and tail described their experiences as having

touched a willowing fan, a wall, a tree, a rope and a snake.

In China today, the reality may be that there is no elephant; that as we look at Chinese education, the reality is actually in the fan, wall, tree, rope and snake. That is to say, the specific, localized observations and experiences available now, may be just that; unrelated to a final reordering of national priorities and policies.[2]

At the national policy level, there is little that is new in the educational foundations of Mao's China. As a younger revolutionary, in 1934, he established his policy for a socialist society:

> "What is the general line of our Soviet culture and education? Our general line is to educate, in the communist spirit, the broad masses of laboring people, to use culture and education to serve the revolutionary war and class struggle, to unite education with labor, and to make it possible for the broad masses of Chinese people to enjoy culture and happiness.
>
> "What is the central task of our Soviet cultural reconstruction? Our central task is to introduce compulsory education for all our people, to launch large-scale socialist education, to vigorously eliminate illiteracy and to create a large number of high level cadres and to lead the revolutionary struggle."[3]

A few years later, also in Yenan, the model for a university in Mao's China was established. Named K'ang Ta (Northwest University for the Resistance of Japan), it was politically oriented toward serving the masses, stressed self-reliance, and required hard work and an austere life from students. Physical and mental labor were integrated and classroom work was augmented with community development activities.[4]

In short, it was exactly the model which resurfaced during the Cultural Revolution and which has been extensively reported on since 1969 by visitors to China. After 1949, when the People's Republic was established, the model continued to be experimented with and in 1958 another example, Kung Ta (University of Communist Labor), was established in Kiangsi province. By then, however, an entrenched education bureaucracy refused official recognition and Kung Ta was never approved for accredition by either the national Ministry of Education or the provincial Kiangsi Department of Education.[5]

The combination of productive labor and education was always extremely central to Mao's view of the necessary means to realizing a new society in China. During those formative years, 1934-35, and especially during the Yenan period, Mao continually returned to the question of development education, stressing again and again the Marxist foundations in his views on the role of education in his revolution.

From 1937, when he wrote his famous essay "On Practice", to 1949, when the "Common Program" was adopted, Mao sought an educational system of theory coupled with practice. Differing from Marx and Lenin only in that Mao placed the "doing" before the "knowing."

In his conclusion to "On Practice," Mao steps wide of the traditional Marxist view and proclaims that, in the end, development education must mean that as success is realized new conditions exist and those who succeeded in reaching this stage must now be

able to change themselves to be in accord with the new conditions. In essence, he says that all goals, aims, plans, programs, theories and ideas must be adaptable to the new circumstances resulting from the course of practice.

"How," he asked himself in 1942, "can those who have only book-learning be turned into intellectuals in the true sense?" "By the balance of practice," he would conclude, and responded: "The only way is to get them to take part in practical work and to become practical workers, to get those engaged in theoretical work to study practical problems."[6]

Practical problems, of course, meant politics. There could be no neutrals in the classrooms; development education requires political involvement. "There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics."[7]

In the "Common Program", which was adopted by the first meeting of the new government's Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in October, 1949, four articles were specifically written for development, revolutionary if you will, education.

Article 41 announced that education and culture of the new nation was to be "new democratic, national scientific and popular."

Article 43 called for efforts to "develop the natural sciences to place them at the service of industrial, agricultural and national defense construction," while Article 46 read:

> "The method of education of the People's Republic of China is the unity of theory

> and practice. The People's government shall reform the old educational system, subject matter and teaching method systematically according to plan."8

Mao Tse-Tung fully agreed with Karl Marx that "... the idea is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought." But those who Mao commissioned to develop his educational institutions on such an approach, on a Marx-Lenin-Mao design, evidently agreed only in words.

In practice, they did not keep faith with the Chairman's words. This is best evidenced in the style of Ch'in Chun-jui, Mao's first vice-minister for education and one of the initial targets of the Red Guards in those early and violent days of the GPCR.

Ch'ien was the author of the first, and to date only, official document on development education released by the People's Republic of China.[9]

Writing in 1951, Ch'ien subscribed faithfully to the Mao doctrine on practice and theory in education. So faithfully, that it was not until ten years later, in 1961, that his incredible hedging in carrying out Mao's plan was detected making him, by 1966, a demon celebre for the Red Guard movement.

Reading the 1951 document in the light of events that developed, it's quite clear that Ch'ien did indicate that he had no intentions of altering the traditional values and structure of education in China as then represented: a mixture of American and Soviet styles. He believed in Mao, he wrote, and thus would insure that rural people - the peasants who were the foundation of Mao's revolution, and the workers - who were later participants but nevertheless heroic

partners with the people in the countryside, would be included in the new development education design "by extension."

"By extension" meant that it would be business as usual while something would be done for the workers in the evenings and for the farmers in spare and part-time programs.[10] Political education receives no mention in Ch'ien's document.

Ch'ien's 1951 comments signalled a deep contradiction between Mao's socialist theory and the product finally put forward as development reality.

It was this contradiction, broadcast throughout the party factions from 1951 to 1966, that defied resolution and brought the world the Great People's Cultural Revolution, the Red Guard atrocities, national humiliation for China, the closing of a continental-sized school system, and a struggle today that is still unresolved.

Western observers saw it as a response to the inadequacy of school enrollment, to the revisionist content and poor methods of education and to the continuing orientation toward the old system. For the latter, it meant the problem of selection of students for education, of selection of material taught, and of the reasons why such material should be taught to such students.[11]

To the Fourth Class of the Senior Third Grade of Peking Number One Girl's Middle School it meant:

> "Many young people are led not to study for the revolution but to immerse themselves in books for the university entrance examination and to pay no heed to politics. Quite a number of students have been indoctrinated with such gravely reactionary ideas of the exploiting classes as

> 'book learning above else', 'achieving fame', 'becoming experts,' 'making one's own way', and so on. The present encourages these ideas.12

The young girls of Mao's revitalized revolution went on to point out that as a result many schools focused on college acceptance figures, concentrating on "bookworms" at the expense of those many capable students from the masses.

And they concluded:

> "It seriously hampers students from developing morally, intellectually, and physically - particularly morally. It fundamentally ignores the ideological revolutionization of the youth."

The primary model for education in the new Republic from 1949 on was that of the Soviet Union, with continual reference to the Anglo-American tradition. Western values prevailed and very limited concern was given to education for self-reliance as defined by Mao Tse-Tung. Although half-work, half-study schools and extension programs were well publicized, these represented piece-meal attempts at showing support for Mao's policy rather than any commitment to a definite change in Chinese education. Most of these were rural, spare-time, adjunct situations; none was a model for national application.

By 1965, Mao saw his revolution falling apart. The very revisionism he had denounced in the Soviet Union was a solid part of China. Whereas China's detente with the Soviet Union had been his revolution's major threat, now he and his revolution were threatened from within by an education bureaucracy that was elitist and by a new generation of Chinese that had never known the revolutionary ordeal.

Specifically, he saw that not enough people were receiving a socialist education. Those who were reflected a geographical and social imbalance favoring the urban, bourgeois class. Much of what was being taught was totally irrelevant to the economic and social needs of the revolution, and was an insufficient return on a costly investment. The end product was conservative and supportive of the ruling bureaucracy.

Obviously, education was not serving Mao's masses. It was a divisive force alienating peasants and workers, mental and manual laborers and the cities and the countryside. To the studied guerrilla veteran, his people needed a new ordeal, an experience akin to the Long March. The Great People's Cultural Revolution was underway.

Mao's strategy was the strategy of his earlier successes. He returned to a crusade for self-reliance, closed schools and universities, dispersed his nation into what Paul T.K. Lin has described as "10,000 Chinas, like great blobs of DNA all over the country."[13] To the guerrilla fighter of earlier campaigns, this was a defense in depth against the external Soviet threat as well as a return to his initial and essential support: the rural areas.

He established a policy of positive discrimination to insure that those most deprived received their share. It was based on the essential ethic and the economic dynamic of self-reliance. It was directed at decompartmentalizing the nation and the individual by declaring that reliance on oneself required "one skill, many spe-

cialities" (yi twan duo nung). It meant a new personal sacrifice and a forced hardship in order to build a revolutionary spirit and commitment.

This was a Cultural Revolution in which education was an inseparable part. Not only were institutions closed and students dispatched to the countryside, but teachers and administrators were purged, the national educational bureaucracy dismantled, and the Red Guard set loose in a style reminiscent of the people's courts of the late 1940's.

That it went beyond the Chairman's control is now without question. Final restraint had to come from the People's Liberation Army and, as Mao had declared at the start of the Cultural Revolution, the PLA took on a new major role in the nation's affairs, including the reopening of schools and the implementation of new educational policies.

In February of 1971, in the nine universities and colleges in Shanghai, 2600 worker, peasant and soldier students took their seats as the choice of their factories, communes and People's Liberation Army units. Approved by their local leadership, they were the vanguard of a new education in the People's Republic of China and would be guided by the philosophy of their Chairman and by the political purity and on-the-job experiences of their worker-teachers.

All over China, Peking announced, schools would become partners with factories, factories would run schools, and the teachers would no longer be, in terms of the revolution's needs, unqualified. A

demonstrated zeal for carrying on the proletarian revolution and success in having applied their practical skills and experiences in the rural and urban campaigns of building China accredited those who would teach the new society.

In an editorial, the People's Daily proclaimed the new order:

> "To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education it is essential to have working class leadership; the masses of workers must take part in this revolution and, in cooperation with the Liberation Army fighters, form a revolutionary three-in-one combination with the activists among the students, teachers, and workers in schools and colleges who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education thru to the end.
>
> The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead those institutions."15

The Cultural Revolution's closure was not without difficulty and to date all educational institutions have not yet reopened. In the summer of 1968, a Western observer visiting several Chinese universities reported teams of soldiers, workers and party leaders being sent in to stop the fighting and to reopen the institutions. At Tsinghua University, she reported, "five members of this incoming team were shot dead as they entered the campus - unarmed." As a Kent State in reverse, she commented, this has to leave a deep memory.[16]

Mao's instructions to Lin Piao, the PLA commander, set the stage for today's educational revolution. In addition to declaring that soldiers should learn politics, agricultural skills, and production methods just as students should learn industrial work, farm-

ing and military affairs, he wrote: "... the school term should be shortened, education should be revolutionized and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be allowed to continue." He added that none of these ideas were new, many had been following them, but now they needed to be popularized.[17]

For all practical purposes, the Cultural Revolution came to an end in 1969 and the educational revolution took on a new seriousness. In response to Mao's letter to Lin Piao, a few national guidelines were issued, but particulars were to remain the perogative of those at the local level. The overall mandate was one of freedom to experiment and the reactions indicate that tighter national guidelines on educational policy and process are still in the distant future.

The national guidelines for experimenting indicate concern for the content and the duration of schooling. Courses are shorter in length than was the case in pre-1966 education, and indications are that primary education will level off at five years, junior and high school at two years each, and post-secondary education will not require more than two or three years. Thus, the most likely model to emerge from this experimentation will take a student from primary to tertiary education in no more than 12 years.[18]

For content, the guidelines seek a curriculum based on that knowledge which is most immediate in its applicability and which nurtures political growth and development. In Lanchow, for example, a primary school curriculum has been described as containing five

elements: politics, industry, agriculture, revolutionary literature and history, and military and physical training. Prior to the Cultural Revolution the curriculum in Lanchow included 17 subjects.[19]

More important, however, to educational development in China is the Maoist Government's decree concerning the relationship of education to society. School is now a concept, rather than a place in China and education will be taken to the consumer, to people wherever they are. Be it factory or farm, production team or commune, the needs of the local community will determine the nature of the school. Annual scheduling will correspond to local production and seasonal calendars, responsibility for staffing and supporting schools will be at the local level, and skills taught will relate directly to local manpower requirements.

There are even official descriptions of "teaching posts" in the far north, staffed by circuit-riding teachers who move on horseback between groups of one-to-five learners in a style reminiscent of missionaries in the early days of the American movement west.

The goal is universal primary education by 1975 and given the extraordinary achievement in combatting illiteracy in recent years,[20] success in that time does not seem unreasonable. Nor does it seem unreasonable that a basic education or training at considerably less cost, and with increased returns on the investment in terms of production, will not also be realized given sufficient stability inside China and a lessening of external conflict and pressures.

Furthermore, the insistence at despecializing the population presages enormous possibilities in reducing human alienation in the general populace as well as in the traditional differences between peasants and workers, city folk and rural dwellers, and manual and mental laborers.

* * * *

What evidence we have today, however, continues to be based on official, government-approved, announcements and eye-witness reports by those who visited government-selected schools and campuses. Like the myriad descriptions of the ideal brigade worker, or model Red Guard member, it is difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of the message. Schools on boats and teachers on horseback may have their domestic significance as the revolution's new ideals and heroes, but hardly tell the story of China's educational revolution.

Conceptually, the national guidelines and the few official goals emanating from Peking are sensible, if not truly admirable, for developing societies with far lesser burdens than the population, geography, economy and international role of the Chinese People's Republic portends. Yet, there is a disquieting silence about other aspects of China's revolution in education.

In a country the size of China, for example, it is obvious that the teachers who are back in the classrooms today are, for the most part, the same teachers who were there before the Cultural Revolution. To what extent have these men and women changed in their attitudes

and is it realistic to believe that millions of teachers trained, albeit poorly, to function with one curriculum and one methodology can now change what has become habit and survival in the classroom? Very likely, they can not.

The same must be asked about materials. A society with limited resources, such as China, must still be using materials produced for an earlier curriculum in the majority of its schools. Particularly, since teaching competence is closely linked to such materials.

Of the colleges and universities mentioned officially as reopened and accepting students, almost all are faculties of science and technology. Is the slowness of the liberal arts institutions to reopen indicative of their lesser value in a Chinese and revolution-centered education or is it simply safer to be politically correct in a physics or industrial mechanics class?

Countless millions of students who were in secondary and tertiary education at the start of the Cultural Revolution have since been sent to the rural areas to "take up roots." Although many were called back to the cities in 1968 to participate in Mao's anti-intellectual movement, they have since been returned to the countryside. If they are in the classrooms, as reported, there is little possibility that they have had even token training for teaching.

Furthermore, in a still parochial and provincial China, can so many students who have had their education terminated early actually put down roots? Conversations I had with such young Chinese in Hong Kong in 1972 indicate otherwise. Called "freedom swimmers"

in Hong Kong, they fled China for more practical reasons than the label suggests. One group, now violently anti-Maoist, clearly sought refuge from life in an alien (rural) China and from the loss of opportunity they had expected as students.

China's universities have now reopened to new students who at the start of the Cultural Revolution - seven years ago - were entering their teens. It will be 1974 before the first of these graduate and then they will be the first graduates of a Chinese University since 1966. What will be the consequence of this seven year drought in college graduates and what will be Peking's reaction to these initial products of the shortened educational process?

In the three years that have passed since the Cultural Revolution there is little upon which to judge the outcome of Mao's education for self-reliance. Perhaps, as some say, this has been a successful revolution already. A revolution against self-interest which has given the younger generation in China new hope for their society and a new vigor as inheritors of the revolutionary struggle that continues. This, at least, is the conclusion of Jack Chen, the CPR's curriculum advisor to the New York State school system.[21]

That a Jack Chen is in Albany today is clearly one measure of what change has already accomplished in China, and in America. But in no way is this an indication of tomorrow's conclusions. Considerable time will need to pass before the revolution in education in China has run its course and even then events both within and without the People's Republic will continue to effect that course and its consequences. From the problems of succession in leadership to world politics, the course is indeed a formidable one.[22]

NOTES

1. Kandel, I.L., The New Era in Education (Boston: Houghton-Miflin Company, 1955), p. 13.

2. In the summer of 1972, the Columbia University educated Director of Social Education at the Kwangtung Teachers' College in Canton, Professor Wang, said: "There is no such thing as an established national educational policy. Each school is entitled to run its own system." Providing, he added, that it be thoroughly practical, possess, accentuate, and encourage greater class consciousness, and serve the needs and aspirations of the people.

   On the issue of curriculum, Professor Wang added: "In drawing up my syllabus I am guided by four principles: the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the needs of the masses." As reported in the Far East Economic Review, July 29, 1972.

3. Mao Tse-tung, "Report of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic and People's Committee to the Second Congress of the National Soviet Representatives," (January, 1934), translated in Chinese Education (New York: International Arts and Sciences Press), 1, No. 2, (Spring-Summer 1969): 35, and reported in Asian Studies at Hawaii, No. 6, University of Hawaii Press, 1971.

4. Lin, Paul T.K., "The Educational Revolution", a 1971 pamphlet.

5. Ibid.

6. Asian Studies at Hawaii, op cit., p. 16.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 18.

9. Ibid., p. 63. This issue also contains a translation and commentary by John N. Hawkins of Ch'ien Chun-Jui's statement in 1951.

10. See Half-work Half-study: Schools in Communist China, Office of Education, HEW, Bulletin 1964, No. 24, for a description of initial attempts at spare and part-time programs.

11. Bastid, Marianne, The China Quarterly, April/June, 1970.

12. Hunter, Deirdre and Neale, We The Chinese, (New York: Prager, 1971), p. 253.

13. Included in a taped conversation at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, 1972.

14. Peking Review, February 26, 1971.

15. Jen-min Jih-pao, January 15, 1971.

16. Benn, Caroline, "The Times Education Supplement", London, November 19, 1971. This is part three of a series which began on November 11 and includes observations on nursery through tertiary education.

17. Rice, Edward E., Mao's Way (University of California Press: 1972), p. 228.

18. Gardner, John, "Chinese Education Since the Cultural Revolution", a draft paper by a member of the Political Science faculty at the University of Manchester, England. The author was interviewed by this writer in Hong Kong in the summer of 1972 when the draft was prepared. The author's chapter in The City in Communist China (Stanford University Press, 1971) entitled "Educated Youth and Urban-Rural Inequalities, 1958-66" is a valuable resource on pre-Cultural Revolution conditions.

19. Ibid.

20. Official Chinese reports in 1960 referred to a 60-70% functional literacy level. Even if this had been doubled for world consumption it would still represent an incredible achievement. Recent figures have increased this by 10%.

21. Rice, op. cit., p. 483-487.

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THE POPULAR EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN MODERN TURKEY

Frank A. Stone

"Popular" or "People's" education, as the Turks term their programs of continuing and non-formal learning, is deeply rooted in Turkish culture. By accepting Islam, Turks came to participate in traditional Muslim institutions of learning called Medreses that functioned as resource centers for the populace during the centuries when they were well managed. Any literate citizen had access to Medrese collections of books, and could freely study fields ranging from engineering to medicine, as well as distinctly religious matters. Medreses also were dispensaries and health centers, as well as places where indigents could get food and rehabilitation. Besides these orthodox Muslim centers of learning, Turkey was long hospitable to Islamic religious brotherhoods called tarikat or dervish orders. A variety of these existed in the Ottoman realms, but the two orders that were most active in education were the Bektashi and Mevlevi dervishes. They brought men and women together for cultural activities that included ritual dance, music, and intellectual conversation.

Historically, the Turkish armed forces have always been another effective channel of popular education. The practice of devsirme which the Ottoman regime adopted from earlier Abbasid and Byzantine customs, Islamized and Turkized Christian lads who were conscripted at an early age from the Empire's Balkan subjects. Besides this, the Ottoman army also brought Turkish values and practices to parts of Thrace and eastern Anatolia where these were foreign.

The most famous means of Ottoman outside-of-school mass education, however, were two institutions that can be traced back to Seljuk times. Artisans and small tradesmen in Anatolian towns formed societies which were called Ahi or trade associations. These groups were socially active

and maintained recreational programs that included choral and instrumental music, as well as folk dancing. The other type of organization was called Lonca. These were craft and trade guilds that combined the functions of modern unions and better business bureaus. It was through a Lonca that new skilled workers were trained and licensed after they completed their apprenticeships. These associations also regulated business ethics and established minimum quality standards, teaching their members to adhere to these codes and punishing them if they failed to do so.

Although all of these traditional types of non-formal education served the Turkish populace well for many centuries, they had deteriorated by the middle of the Nineteenth Century. The earliest experiment with a Western inspired form of popular education was the "School for Apprentices" opened by a group of Ottoman intellectuals in 1865. This was a project of the Islamic Teaching Society (Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i Islamiye) in order to make the apprentices in the Istanbul marketplace literate. This was successful enough that a second class was started elsewhere in the capital, but in 1874 the oppressive political climate forced both literacy programs to close down. The reigning Sultan had no desire for his laboring classes to learn to read and write and it wasn't until 1908 when a reformist regime came to power that this work could be resumed. It then continued until 1928, when it was superceded by programs organized under the Turkish republic.

The Young Turk revolution in 1908 also resulted in many informal seminars and conferences on popular themes such as accounting, budgeting, religious affairs, geography, history and scientific matters being held. Istanbul intellectuals usually organized and led these gatherings, but some of them were diffused to the provincial capitals of the Empire. In 1912 the new wave of national sentiments caused the formation of the Turkish Hearths. Modeled on European counterparts and similar groups that

had developed among the Christian minorities, these stressed Turkish culture, history and language. They sponsored groups that investigated folklore, traditional crafts and the national literary heritage. Within a year, twenty-five branches of the Turkish Hearth were operating in Anatolian towns; the first instance in modern history when popular education reached outside of a few metropolitan centers.

Soon, however, the Turkish Hearth Movement became a casualty of the blackening Ottoman fortunes in the First World War. On March 9, 1920, British and French occupation forces took over the Turkish Hearth headquarters in Istanbul, exiling most of the organization's leaders. When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, the Kemalist leadership was less enthusiastic about the Turkish Hearths, which were associated to some extent with the discredited Young Turk regime. Although the Society was allowed to function until 1931, it didn't again reach its former level of prominence. However, the Commission to Investigate Turkish History (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Encümeni) which it launched in 1930 became the core of the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), which has had an important impact on the Turkish national consciousness.

Meanwhile, a language development was underway which led to three basic innovations in non-formal education. In November 1928 the Grand National Assembly passed Law 1353, abandoning the Arabic script with which the Ottomans had written Turkish. Not only was a new Latin alphabet adopted, but the official language was to be purged of Arabic and Persian accretions to form a "pure" Turkish. President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk now became chief teacher of the nation, leading the popular struggle to learn the new alphabet and speak and write pure Turkish. Between 1928 and 1950, when they were discontinued, almost 84,000 "People's Schools" (Millet Mektepleri) brought literacy to 1,400,000 Turks and Primary School equivalency to

another 350,000. Considering the economic plight of much of Turkey during these years, this outcome represents a considerable degree of success, but its impact was confined largely to western Turkey.

The new emphasis on "pure" Turkish required that a national language academy, the Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) be formed. It was begun on a directive from Atatürk in 1932 and has been another major source of popular learning in Turkey. The "People's Schools" had demonstrated the need and thirst for learning in the country. When he returned from an extended national inspection tour in 1931, Atatürk announced plans to set up a system of People's Houses (Halkevi) in every Turkish province. Three months later the Turkish Hearth was abolished, its members being invited to join the new organization.

These People's Houses evolved into one of the most effective channels of mass education in Turkish history. By 1945, when enthusiasm for them began to wane, 437 People's Houses and 2,688 People's Rooms were functioning. Most of them maintained nine types of activities: (1) language and literature study, (2) fine arts, (3) sports, (4) drama, (5) social welfare, (6) publications such as newspapers, journals, pamphlets and some books, (7) village uplift, (8) local and Turkic historical study, (9) gathering museum and library collections. Many of the new generation of Turkish writers got their start in Halkevi journals, such as Yenitürk (Istanbul), Ülkü (Ankara) and Fikirler (Izmir). But, for all these beneficial results, the Halkevis had two serious flaws. First, they were never able to significantly reach the 70% of Turks who live in villages. Second, they were associated with the Republican People's Party. So, when it was voted out of office in 1950, one of the early acts of the victorious Democratic Party was to close the People's Houses and Rooms, and confiscate their property. Both the Turkish Hearth and the People's Houses have been re-established since the revolutionary change of governments in 1960, but

without official government backing, neither appears to be making much of a comeback.

Before surveying the present situation, three pioneer attempts to bring enlightenment to the village population of Turkey deserve attention. In 1936 the desperate shortage of rural teachers led to the establishment of crash courses for male villagers that had attained a non-commissioned rank in the army. Called "Pedagog Courses" (Egitmen Kurslari) in a single year these programs built on the basic literacy of these men, preparing them to go back to their own villages to open three year elementary schools where none had previously existed. Many of the rural instructors who were originally trained this way are still on the job in 1972!

The success of these short courses led to the establishment of the Village Institutes, based on a law issued in 1940. These took village boys and girls who had completed five years of primary school for a three year course. They were prepared to be agricultural agents, sanitation and health officers, as well as village teachers. A detailed analysis of the Village Institutes and their impact exceeds the limitations of this article, but by many standards they successfully injected education into the most depressed regions of Anatolia. Their young graduates exhibited tremendous grit and commitment in returning to wrestle with the problems of their villages. But, for a variety of reasons, the Village Institutes also incurred political disapprobation that resulted in their abandonment after 1946. A nationwide program of mobile courses which taught men and women simple trades and hand skills after 1938 was also gradually phased out in the 1950's.

The Democratic Party which came to power in 1950, contrary to its Republican People's Party predecessor, drew much of its strength from Turkish villagers. RPP programs at mass education were always designed by urban intellectuals who knew little about the boondocks. Or, if

designed by educated villagers, they soon drew fire from the RPP bureaucrats. The Democrats set up a "Popular Education Bureau" (Halk Egitim Bürosu) in the Ministry of Education and in 1953 they began setting up "People's Reading Rooms" in the towns and villages. In 1956 a system of "Popular Education Centers" was opened in all of the Turkish provincial capitals. During the decade between 1950 and 1960 when the Democrats ruled Turkey, non-formal education developed in a strange conglomeration of modern literacy and skill programs, along with a rebirth of traditional Koranic memorization courses and similar informal efforts at popular Islamization.

Since 1960, non-formal education in Turkey has been given a new lease on life. The new Constitution guarantees the freedom of thought, knowledge and creative expression. It also states that access to education is one of a Turkish citizen's fundamental rights. Both recent Five Year Plans for national development have included important roles for Popular Education. The Eighth National Consultation on Education received an important committee report on Popular Education. Vocational and Technical Education is now being provided through a special Center that has been set up in the Ministry of Education. The Turkish Armed Forces no longer maintain extensive literacy programs, but they do train drivers, mechanics, clerks, and machinists. Trade courses have been opened in the prisons administered by the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Village Affairs provides a wide range of short and longer opportunities for study to Turkey's rural population. And a network of Basic Education Centers aimed at eradicating illiteracy has been brought into being.

Besides these efforts by the arms of the Turkish government, several private agencies also are active in non-formal education. There are the usual philantropic organizations such as the Red Crescent and the Yardim Sevenler (Those who Love to Serve), a national women's organization. The worker's Unions have created extensive popular education programs.

However, a Community Development plan initiated by the Peace Corps in 1963 was a miserable flop. In fact, probably the most effective "popular education" is actually peasant mobility as villagers move into the squattertowns that circle Turkey's cities, and semi-skilled urban and town Turks go to Western Europe to fill the critical labor shortages there. At least there are very few younger Turks today who are satisfied to remain illiterate, disenfranchised or technically unskilled.

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MEDIATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST ON A NON-GOVERNMENT LEVEL

Mounir R. Saadah

Some day the "State of War" which has prevailed between the Arabs and the Israelis in the Middle East will come to an end. The human psyche cannot stand a condition of perpetual hostility. Even if it could, the demands of modern warfare are so heavy that any society will ultimately collapse physically under the weight. Why this has not happened in the case of the Middle East is because other parties who are not in the eye of the storm have largely provided the materiaí. How long this supply will continue is dependent on the degree of the detente that the industrialized powers can reach and the restraints that it will put upon them.

A further factor which obligates peace among the peoples of the Middle East is peculiar to those people. What gives coherence to the Societies of the Middle East, whether they are Israeli, Moslem, or Christian, is a set of moral and spiritual assumptions in which violence, injustice, hostility and devisiveness have no permanant place. The cementing force in these societies that gives form to their soul and makes them distinct and unique is derived from the various concepts of love that is imbedded in their religion and culture. Take love out of the value systems of the Middle Eastern societies and they cease to be coherent entities. Where power is everything as it now is, love and justice are nothing. This condition cannot long endure. The effectual relationships of these people now is based on violence and suppression so the danger to the "being" of these societies is imminent.

War creates a threshold at which the human spirit passes beyond its capacity to endure. Some of those whose threshold is low become terrorists, completely devoid of any sense of essential human values. Others whose thresholds are also low initiate a search for an alternative to violence. They discover beliefs, practices, avenues and values which tend to reinforce and save them from utter collapse.

Indications are that both these trends are contesting for the ascendancy in the Middle East. Destructive and creative impulses are in the balance. There is no telling, in the present sea-saw of events, which will become the dominent pattern.

We who are concerned and wish the latter to gain ascendency but stand at some distance from the struggle can see a dangerous polarization taking shape. Since we are concerned, we cannot be indifferent. We are wretched when terror augments, we are hopeful and joyful when reason and some intimation of love have the upper hand.

Standing at the sidelines either to cheer or to lament is not a creative response. The Chorus in a Greek play never averts the tragedy. Concern means compassion, involvement and participation. How can we involve ourselves and participate to diminish terror and augment reason without being drawn into the struggle is the intent of this paper to outline.

The approach, by necessity, must be a fresh one. To dwell, as hitherto, upon historical claims, injustices perpetrated, promises kept or broken, derived rights and traditional positions is futile and unproductive. While the argument is being won the opportunity is lost. We are faced with a stubborn fact that through the interaction of forces good and evil an inescapable situation has been created where several

societies lay exclusive claim to the same piece of real estate and whose ways of life are so diametrically different that they are not likely to fuse together nor is it desirable that they should.

Can we find a solution which will do no violence to the genius of these peoples and at the same time would gain nourishment from the very heart of their peculiar human experience?

I think there is such a solution. It lies in the concept of accommodation. This principle of making room to prevent a destructive impasse is nothing new to the Semetic peoples. They have a word for it in Arabic TASAMOH : turning one's face the other way while an adversary improves his position by getting his back off the way; giving in at one area while you are gaining in another; accepting less than you expected out of respect for the mediation of the third party so as not to let them lose face; willingness to accept or give a substitute for an original claim; even, at times, giving more than is expected or required and so disarming the adversary. The verb-form, TASAMOH, always indicates a mutality, a give and take proposition.

It is, in fact, by the principle of accomodation that the Jews survived in the diaspora. They gave and took in everything except in "The Lord thy God is One God," otherwise, practically everything else was negotiable.

Among the Arabs the same principle of TASAMOH prevailed. That is the way they settled their blood feuds when they were still nomads; that is how they structured their pluralistic society when they stood at the apogee of their power.

More recently, they have demonstrated this principle in many significant instances. Observe their genius for accommodation in the delicate

social structure in Lebanon where they have maintained a viable, cohesive, free and democratic society which is made up of mutually exclusive and tightly closed communities.

Another instance of accommodation can be seen in Jerusalem. Practically one sixth of the Old City is jealously held and guarded as exclusively Moslem and Arab. This is the area of the Haram -- Al Haram Al Sharif. And yet, even here, some accommodation has been allowed. The "Wailing Wall" and the adjacent land have become the most sacred synagogue though the "Wall" is really a retaining structure for the Haram. Another instance of this kind of accommodation can be seen in Hebron -- AlKhalil -- where a mosque which allegedly houses the tombs of the Patriarchs serves also as a synagogue.

One other instance of accommodation which illustrates another nature of the principle can be seen in the several hundred Arab young people from the Gaza Strip who are either unwilling or unable to enter Israeli universities. These are allowed to cross the Suez Canal and pursue their studies in Egypt.

Although accommodation is a quality of the Semetic peoples, yet, in their present historical, psychological and emotional mood, they are not able to generate the necessary energy to bring TASAMOH into play so as to avert the danger that is painfully gnawing at their heart. Therefore, those of us who are seriously concerned must provide the catalyst to facilitate the interactions which TASAMOH demands.

If an independent, non-government and neutral instrument is created which combines the functions of a fire-brigade, the Civil Liberties Union and Ombudsman can place itself at the disposal of these societies to act as a mediator who brings together parties for various purposes and on

diverse occasions, such an instrument can become a catalyst to facilitate intercourse to give an opportunity for TASAMOH. It can help to provide the ground on which the disputants can stand together, answering the call when it comes, taking no sides, expressing no suggestions or solutions, passing no judgments. It will just place itself in a posture where it can listen and facilitate the transmission of concerns that are presented to it.

This arrangement does not need to wait until formal peace comes. Its work must start before formal peace is established and continue long after. Half a century of violent disruptions, grievances, dislocations, hatreds and cruelties have left a legacy that no legal fiction such as a "binding peace treaty" can dispel. It can begin its work now in Israel and Israeli Occupied Territories where over a million Arabs and more than three million Israelis live.

Some day, there will come a time when these potentially great societies can interact creatively. The road to that goal is long and arduous. It will not come by itself. It has to be willed by rational beings. A beginning must be made. The time is now. TASAMOH is the name of the road. A human instrument must build and pave it.

FURTHER EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Thomas L. Bernard

Wheras in the United States, we are accustomed to think of educational structure in terms of the three stage continuum of elementary education, secondary education and higher education, in Britain provision is made for four stages -- these being primary, secondary, further, and higher education. Primary and secondary education correspond pretty much to elementary and secondary education in the U. S., though this is inevitably a somewhat oversimplified statement. From the standpoint of nonformal education, it is further education which is of greatest significance, and the framers of the landmark Education Act of 1944 specifically included it when decreeing that the local education authorities, (L.E.A.'s) "are to secure the provision for their areas of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say: (a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and (b) leisure-time occupation, in such organized cultural training and recreational activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are willing and able to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose."

Technically speaking, and as a result of the important Robbins Report of 1963, further education encompasses all full-time and part-time education beyond the compulsory attendance of age of fifteen. In practice, however, people generally make a distinction between further

education and higher education (full-time degree study at a college or university.) Further education is still regarded by most people in its traditional role as the area in which vocational, social and spare-time pursuits are included for the less academically inclined students and citizens, and so it is in this category that most nonformal educational endeavors and activities would be found. In his book Education and Development in Western Europe, Edmund King is somewhat critical of the fact that "a sharp distinction had been maintained in Britain (and other countries) between 'genuine' higher education and all other forms of post-secondary education and training. The latter might be called 'further' education as in Britain."

Financing of further education is shared between the Ministry of Education and Science, and the L.E.A.'s, in the ratio of 55% to 45%, but it is the L.E.A. that has the primary responsibility for making the decisions, and organizing the specific offerings necessary to meet the needs of the people of the particular locality.

It is difficult, if not impossible, in such a brief overview of such a broad area, to provide more than a superficial overview of the many facets of further education, but one perspective of some importance is to recognize the distinction between vocational sector were greatly stimulated by the Industrial Training Act of 1964, and it is in this direction that the majority of further education students direct their energies. About 90% of them take part-time or evening courses, usually with the ultimate goal being a particular diploma or certificate of a technical, artistic or commercial nature. Many firms provide their own training programs for specific qualifications or for skill-improvement, for which they can receive reimbursement from the state, but most of the

education (sometimes known as "county colleges"). For students under 18, these courses are free and can be taken on the employer's time for either a whole day or for two half-days per week. For others, fees may be charges, but these areoften remitted, and in any case, no student can be denied opportunities because of his inability to pay.

The range of the subjects that might be offered by the L.E.A.'s in this vocational area is quite broad, and would normally include courses in such fields as: the building trades, metallurgy, T.V. and radio repair, plumbing, carpentry, electronics, auto-mechanics, stenography, business administration, dressmaking, journalism, agriculture, engineering, etc.

Nonvocational courses are usually under the aegis of such bodies as Centres of Adult Education, Evening Institutes, Colleges of Further Education, Youth Centres, or University Departments of Extramural Studies. The emphasis of the offerings is customarily in the direction of meaningful leisure-time activities and social and recreational pursuits; as examples we can cite such things as painting, weaving, photography, folk-dancing, infant care, drama, music, foreign languages, chess, etc. The work of voluntary and independent agencies is particularly valuable in this respect, and such agencies as the Workers' Education Association, Youth Hostels Association, Cadet Corps, British Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Young Farmers Federation, Salvation Army, Central Council for Physical Recreation, Boys' Brigade, U.M.C.A and Y.W.C.A., National Playing Fields Association, the various religious denominational organizations, etc., all play a major role in the provision of a considerable variety of possible activities.

One of the chief goals of British education is that each individual be accorded educational opportunities that are appropriate in terms of age, aptitude and ability (the 3 A's). These certainly apply in this broad area of further education, for the comprehensive range of the programs and facilities that are available, enable people regardless of background or age to enter and pursue sourses of their own choosing at their own level of competence. There can be no doubt that a significant contribution of further education in Great Britain has been in fostering and encouraging a great range of learning and recreational opportunities for the mass of the population in a less structured and nonformal educational context.

PRACTICUM IN FINANCE AS A SUCCESSFUL ALTERNATIVE IN EDUCATION

Falih Al-Shaikhly

For the first time in the history of the Finance Department at American International College, a six-credit practicum in finance was introduced into the curriculum during the summer session of 1972. Five finance students at AIC participated in the applied work experience in conjunction with the Greater Holyoke Chamber of Commerce. Each student was placed in one of the following five firms for the five week program: Valley Finishing Co., Holyoke Planning Board, United Fund Inc., Daniel O'Connell and Sons, Inc., and the Chamber of Commerce itself. The placement of students was based according to their area of major interest and in agreement with their desires for future careers. The students and the employers of the above firms and myself met together, before the start of the course, to negotiate each student's program with the firm which best fit his needs.

During the five weeks spent in these various business organizations, students observed and acutally took part in the operation of the business with his employer. I was in contact with the students continuously to discuss with them their work and to give them advice.

At the end of the course, each student wrote a comprehensive report under my direction. Each report was mailed to the employer which the student was working with. For example, one student's paper dealt with the Financial Application of Leasing Agreements. The cost of ownership to the leasing company was examined. Purchase of the asset by the lease company would entail a finance cost, which would have to be included into the rental price. The return from the investment to the lessor must be

used and a standard return estimated as a factor in the development of the rental price.

Another student examined the present cost system in the company in which he worked. He studied the overall efficiency of the cost department.

A third student worked on Capital Budgeting and Programming in the City of Holyoke. He found that from 1964 to 1971 the tax rate has been increased by 64 percent in the city of Holyoke. While, in the same period, the debt service decreased by 11 percent. He predicted, based on his study, that for the period 1973 to 1978, revenue raised from local taxes as a percentage of total appropriations should be decreased approximately 1.5 percent per year on the average. A possible source of revenue sharing program. Depending upon the amount that the city of Holyoke receives, the financing which is needed through property taxes could be decreased. An additional source of income could be derived from the sale of parking permits to all non-residents of Holyoke. In this way, those people who are employed in Holyoke will be required to pay some of the city's expenses. Another quasi-source of revenue could be tapped if the State assumed the cost of education. Therefore, a burden would be lifted from the taxpayer. As a result of this action, the added revenues, assuming a constant tax rate, could be applied to other uses.

The students demonstrated understanding involvment, responsibility, and cooperation with their employers gave them a real picture of business life that they might not be able to get in the classroom.

The practicum succeeded in familiarizing the students with the financial and operational aspects of the business community, thereby expanding their background in finance education. An accomplishment on

the side was the strengthening of the relationship between the business community and AIC, which could grow and offer more such practical opportunities for students to increase their knowledge, abilities, and provide fresh new ideas to business.

One of the most enlightening responses to the program came from the employers who greatly appreciated the work and contributions of the students. One employer said that his student assistant "was eager and industrious, the kink of man I would like to work with in my office."

Theodore C. Dydowicz, Executive Vice-President of the Greater Holyoke Chamber of Commerce, was extremely enthusiastic over the practicum. In a letter dated August 7, 1972, he stated that "It is my understanding by those businessmen who participated in the program, that it was extremely successful. All executives involved were more than satisfied with the information and suggestions offered by the students."

Due to the success of the Practicum, it will again be offered this coming summer. As a matter of fact, the Practicum has become a regular course in the Finance Department curriculum. This program will always offer the students an alternative to second experience obtained from textbooks and in the classroom. Simply, they will be able to use and compare what they learn in the classroom with their real business experience.

In the future, I would like to see students offered full-time employment where they have spent their practicum or supplied with a good letter of recommendation for some other or future employment.